THE GROUNDWORK OF INDIAN HISTORY

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THE GROUNDWORK OF INDIAN HISTORY

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PREFACE

The authors of a new text-book owe an explanation to the public. Since there are plenty of text-books and to spare, it may be demanded, why inflict another? Our answer is simple. The existing text-books are excellent in their way; but every author has his own method, and we flatter ourselves that ours is somewhat different. The present work is intended mainly for Matriculation students, but it is to be hoped that it will be of some use to others as well. We are not prepared to treat a Matriculation candidate as a mere school-boy: he is the undergraduate to be, and as such, he must prepare himself with an eye to the needs of the degree examination. It is well known how meagre the equipment of the average undergraduate is. It has been our endeavour in this book to introduce him to some of the important controversies of our country's history and to initiate him, though not fully, in its methods. At the same time we have not forgotten his limitations and have avoided dry details as much as possible. History is not a catalogue of names and dates, nor is it a chronicle of royal deeds and misdeeds or the pranks of supine courtiers. We have, therefore, attempted a brief survey of the evolution of Indian culture and polity. It is by no means easy to avoid minute details and give an intelligible account of India's past; we may have, like many of our predecessors, failed to strike the golden mean. We have examined the original sources as far as practicable; and where the fountain-head is beyond our reach, we have used the standard secondary authorities. We have done our best to write an up-to-date and impartial history of our country, and we have tried to avoid some of the current heresies that refuse to die. The accounts of foreign travellers

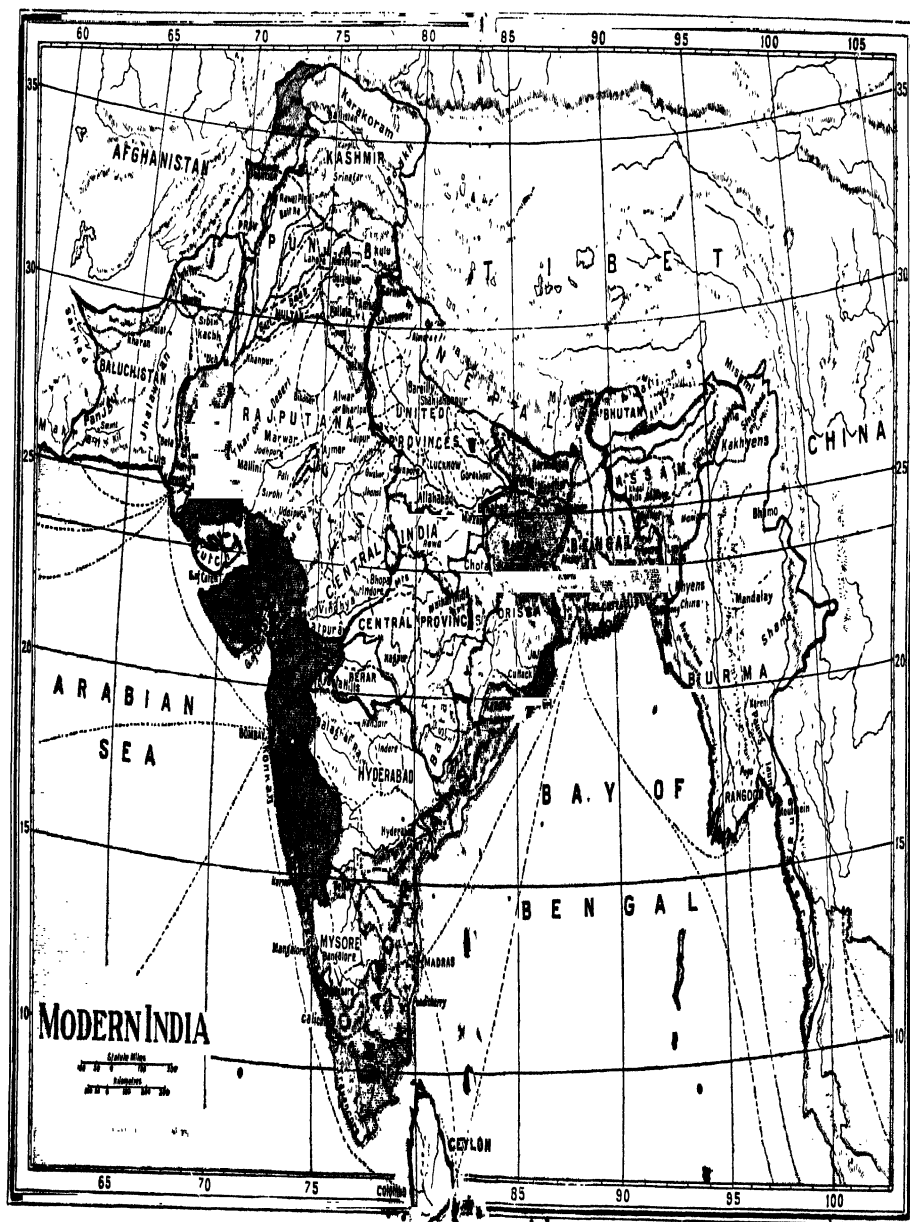
have been mostly reproduced in their own words, although the unfamiliar spellings of the 17th and the 18th centuries have in some cases been modernised. Many original and secondary works have been mentioned in the text in the hope that the student may feel a desire to form a closer acquaintance with them. If *The Groundwork of Indian History* helps in stimulating that sense of duty and responsibility which the future citizen of India owes to his motherland, the labours of the authors will be amply rewarded.

We take this opportunity of acknowledging our indebtedness to Messrs. W. C. Wordsworth, Sailendra Nath Mitra and Indu Bhushan Banerji for some valuable suggestions.

H. C. R. C.
S. N. S.

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THE GROUNDWORK OF INDIAN HISTORY

BOOK I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE LAND OF INDIA

The Position and Extent of India :—India is the central of the three vast peninsulas that stretch southwards from the mainland of Asia into the ocean. On its north rise the lofty ridges of the Himalayas, which wall it off from the plateau of Tibet. On the north-west and the north-east a series of smaller hills run south from the great range and descend right to the sea which encircles the southern half of the peninsula like a deep moat. The country no longer includes the north-east corner of the Iranian tableland, drained by the Kabul and its affluents, which was famous at one time as the ornament of the Uttarapatha (Northern India). It does, on the other hand, embrace within its political boundaries the undulating sand-dunes of Baluchistan and the orchid-bedecked forests beyond the Brahmaputra which lie outside the stupendous

Exclusion of the Kabul region:

Political connection with Baluchistan and outlying areas in the east.

mountain wall that extends along its north like the stretched string of a bow.

The Names of the Country :—India takes its name from the mighty Sindhu, the great river which, like the Nile in Egypt, forms the most imposing feature of that part of the country with which the Persians and the Greeks first came into contact. The Persians called the river "Hindu", which the Greeks reduced to Indos. It is from these terms that the well-known foreign names of the country, namely India and Hindusthan, are derived. These names had at first a narrow signification, being applied to the land about the Indus river. But later the denotation of the terms became wider, and they came to include the entire region stretching from the Himalayas to the sea. To the Indians themselves the country was known as Bharatavarsha—the land of King Bharata and of the Bharata tribe famed in Puranic tradition. Another name, found as early as the time of Asoka, is Jambudvipa, which, however, had a wider meaning than Bharatavarsha.

India and Hindusthan.

Bharata-varsha.

Diversity in India :—No one can fail to be impressed with the enormous size of India, the multitude of its population and the extraordinary variety of its physical aspects. It has been aptly termed a sub-continent. The size of India equals that of Europe without Russia. Its population is nearly one-fifth of that of the whole world. Within its borders live numerous races, speaking countless languages and professing most of the great religions of the world. If the immense size of India and the varied character of its population are striking, no less remarkable is the extreme diversity of its physical features. Lofty mountains, crowned with everlasting snow, tower above low, flat river-basins, where "not a boulder breaks the uniform regularity of the alluvial surface". Primeval

Vastness of size and varied character of population.

Diversity of physical features.

forests sheltering scattered clans of aboriginal tribes lie within a few miles of vast stretches of rice fields supporting a quick-witted population claiming descent from the enlightened Aryans of the Vedas and the Upanishads. Sandy wastes, arid, hot and desolate, flank the edge of a well-watered plain, which rivals in fertility the rich valleys of the Euphrates and the Yang-tse-kiang.

Its Fundamental Unity :—The diversity of India should not make us lose sight of its fundamental unity. The geographical unity of the country is emphasised by the name Bharatavarsha applied to the land since the days of the Mahabharata. A single political authority exercising sway from the Himalayas to the sea was the ideal that poets and political philosophers held up before their countrymen, and the dream came near realisation in the days of the Mauryas, the House of Tughluq and the Timurids. A single religion, Hinduism, is professed by the vast majority of the people. Many of the aboriginal tribes hover on the outskirts of this faith. Another unifying influence is supplied by Islam, the other great religion of India, which has in its turn been largely affected by its Hindu environment. A single language, Sanskrit, is used by *pundits* throughout the country and Sanskritic vernaculars, notably Hindusthani, are spoken or understood by the vast majority of the people of northern India and a considerable section of the people of the Deccan. Even the Dravidian south is deeply permeated with the influence of the Sanskrit language and culture. Simplicity and devotion to religion mark the people of India, irrespective of caste or creed.

Geographical unity.

Political unity.

Religious and Cultural unity.

Natural Divisions of India :—If Baluchistan and the region beyond the Brahmaputra are excluded, India falls naturally into four main divisions, viz., (i) the mountain region in the north, (ii) the Indo-

Gangetic plain, (iii) the highlands of Central India and the Deccan and (iv) the narrow stretches of low land which lie between the sea and the elevated interior of the peninsula.

The Himalayan Region :—The mountain region in the north is dominated by the Himalayas, which extend for over 1200 miles along the northern frontier of India. Enclosed within these colossal mountain walls, "which far exceed in sublimity the most stupendous of the Alpine chains", are the rich Vales of Kashmir and Nepal and the small territories of Kumaon, Garhwal, Sikkim and Bhutan. At the base of the Himalayan range runs a belt of densely forest-covered tract called the Tarai. "Within its embrace lie the buried remains of ancient cities famous in Buddhist History".

The Tarai.

The Indo-Gangetic Plain :—To the south of the Himalayas stretches the vast low-lying plain, watered by the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The Aravalli water-shed splits it up into two parts. The western part which forms the basin of the Indus and its affluents is fringed on the south by the great desert of Sind and Rajputana. The eastern part, drained by the Ganges and it tributaries, is itself divided into two by the Rajmahal salient of the Vindhya hills. The upper part—the ancient Madhya-desa—is the region that has given India its distinct colouring in history. The lower part constitutes the important province of Bengal, which has a history differing in many respects from that of the Madhya-desa.

The Punjab, Sind and Rajputana.

The Madhya-desa.

Bengal.

The Central Plateau :—To the south of the broad Valley of the Ganges lies the elevated centre of the Indian peninsula buttressed on the north by the Vindhyas and connected ranges, on the west by the Sahyadri or the Western Ghats, on the south by the Nilgiris and on the east by the Mahendra or the Eastern

Ghats. The northern edge of the great table-land, consisting of the provinces of Malwa and Bundelkhand, is easily accessible from the Gangetic plain; but separated from it by an almost impenetrable belt of hills and forests through which flow the rivers Narmada and Tapti to the west and the Mahanadi to the east, lies the southern and larger portion of the great table-land, viz., the plateau of the Deccan. Through this highland, the seat of great kings who time and again hurled back the advancing battalions of northern conquerors, the rivers Godavari, Krishna (with its affluents, the Bhima, the Malaprabha and the Tungabhadra) and Kaveri make their way eastwards to the Bay of Bengal.

Malwa and Bundelkhand.

The Deccan.

Coast Strips in the South:—Between the elevated interior of the peninsula and the sea stretch two long strips of low land which contain some of the richest plains and wealthiest ports of India. The western strip comprising the provinces of the Konkan, Kanara and Malabar is a tract of great natural beauty and contains many fine harbours. The eastern strip of territory includes the rich districts of the Chola country (Coromandel) as well as the arid plains of Madura and Tinnevelly, which correspond to the ancient kingdom of the Pandyas.

The Konkan and Malabar.

Chola and Pandya.

Effect of the Physical Features of India upon the History of the Country:—Shut in by mountains and seas and provided with ample resources within, India developed a distinct civilisation of her own, and a social polity, differing in important respects from that of the rest of the world. Her philosophy bears the impress of the sublime majesty of the Himalayas. Her material prosperity and development owe not a little to the mighty Ganges, which "has silently worked through the ages in an unceasing process of regeneration of the soil, spreading life and strength abroad

Civilisation and material prosperity.

among the millions who venerate its sanctifying agency".

Though magnificently fortified by Nature, India was never immune from external attack. The central chain of the Himalayas, broken only by narrow defiles, no doubt stood as a colossal rampart against a rush of invasion from the north. But the north-western and north-eastern hills flanking the Indo-Gangetic plain are pierced by natural passes through which successive waves of invasion have swept into the rich and fertile plains of the interior. Moreover, a gap of a hundred miles separates the Delhi-Aravalli ridge from the lower Himalaya and serves as the great gateway into the Gangetic plain, through which floods of foreign invasion frequently burst upon the Madhya-desa. It was not till the great Vindhyan barrier was reached that the tides of invasion began to ebb.

Vulnerable frontiers.

The Vindhyan barrier.

The existence of the vast Indo-Gangetic plain rendered possible the growth of great empires in northern India. But the desert of Rajputana and the small hills that here and there project into the plain made the process of political unification extremely difficult and favoured the growth of small kingdoms. The great belt of hills and forests separating northern India from the south, on the other hand, interposed an almost impassable obstacle to the southern extension of the Gangetic empires. In trans-Vindhyan India, the great central plateau was often the seat of mighty kingdoms, rivalling in power and splendour the great empires of the Indo-Gangetic plain. But the Ghats effectively prevented the permanent political unification of the whole of southern India, and many a battle was fought on the flat-topped hills of the Ghats and on the banks of the Tungabhadra and neighbouring streams between the armies of the powers that controlled the Deccan

Political unification difficult.

plateau on one side and the low-lying plains of the Konkan and Coromandel coasts on the other.

The sea that encircles the Indian peninsula on the south, usually regarded as a separating barrier, was actually a highway for the spread of Indian colonisation and Indian culture to the golden lands to the south-east of the Ganges. It also linked this peninsula with the Malay Archipelago and the lands of the Far East almost as closely as it binds the country to-day to a remote island in the Atlantic. The ocean was also the great channel through which the wealth of the Roman empire poured into the famous ports that dotted the seaboard of India from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Ganges.

The Sea not a barrier of separation.

Importance of Indian History :—India is the home of one of the oldest civilisations of the world. It produced the earliest literature of the Aryan race and the transcendental philosophy of the Upanishads and the Vedanta. It is the birth-place of two of the great religions of the world whose influence is felt over the whole of the Asiatic continent except its extreme west. Under cover of the Barlaam and Joasaph story, Buddha, the founder of one of these religions, has been given a niche as a saint in the row of canonized worthies of Europe. The fable literature of India spread to the west and reappears in Æsop and in many European legends of to-day. In medicine and surgery, in mathematics and astronomy, India produced works which were eagerly studied by Arab scholars. The Indians invented the nine numerals and the decimal system of notation ; and these were adopted by the Arabs, who carried them to the western world. It was an Indian king who eschewed military conquest, not after defeat, but after victory, and brought the message of peace and good will to a world distracted by lust for dominion and strife. The Indians were probably the first to

India the home of an ancient civilisation and the birth-place of a world religion.

Influence of Indian culture.

Indian benevolence.

Self-government. **India an ethnological museum.**

establish hospitals not only for men but for beasts as well. India perfected a system of local self-government that excited the admiration of foreign observers from Megasthenes to Metcalfe. Lastly, this country is a veritable museum of races, and no student of the history of man can afford to ignore it.

CHAPTER II

ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION

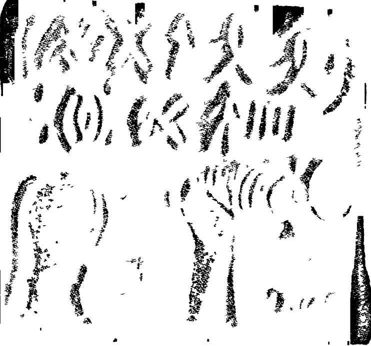
Primitive Races :—The historian of India should take note not only of the physical aspects of this vast sub-continent but also of the various races that make up its composite population. To the earliest and rudest of these races belong the Old Stone Men whose tools and weapons made of chipped but unpolished stone have been found in the river gravel of Central and Southern India. Next to them in time are the New Stone Men whose remains have been found in abundance in Southern India as well as in the Vidhyan region. These men used more polished stone implements, knew the art of making pottery, cultivated the land and honoured their dead with tombs built of massive stones. They are usually regarded as the ancestors of some of the existing peoples of India, e.g. the so-called Kolarian, Kol or Munda races whose main strongholds are the Santal Parganas, Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring hill tracts of Orissa and Central India. Some of the Munda tribes, e.g. the Savaras, find mention in a Vedic text. The influence of these races is traced by some scholars in such place-names as Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Trilinga, Kosala, Tosala etc. But their identification with the men of the New Stone Age must remain uncertain.

Old Stone Men.

New Stone Men.

Munda races.

The Copper Age and the Indus Civilisation :—To these succeeded men who knew the use of copper, but not of iron. Important discoveries of copper instruments were made at Gungeria in the Central Provinces and in old beds of the Ganges near Cawnpore. But the most interesting remains of the Copper Age or




Seals. Mahenjo-Daro (Sind)

rather of the period of transition from the Stone to the Copper Age are those unearthed at Harappa in the Punjab and at Mahenjo-Daro in Sind. They reveal the existence of a rich civilisation in the Indus Valley several thousands of years before the Christian era. The finds at these places include brick buildings with bathrooms and an elaborate system of drainage, figures of men, women and animals (excepting the horse), painted pottery, gold and jewellery, and seals engraved with a kind of picture writing. Several important antiquities at Mahenjo-Daro seem to be connected with the worship of the tree, the Mother-Goddess and a male god who is recognized as a prototype of Siva, while those at Harappa include a large cone of dark stone resembling the *Sivalinga* of modern times. The dead were usually cremated. Fragments of the burnt bones were, however, deposited in earthen jars or small brick structures. Scholars have been struck by the close affinity between the Indus Valley culture and the ancient civilisation of Sumer in Mesopotamia. And some have suggested that this civilisation is Dravidian.

Pre-historic civilisation of the Indus.

Dravidians:—The term Dravidian is derived from Drāvida, the ancient name of the Tamil country, and is used to denote the people of South India who speak Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tulu, which form a group well defined and closely related to one another. To the Dravidian group belongs also Brahui spoken by a people in Baluchistan. The existence of this language is taken to indicate that the Dravidians came to India from the north-west. They are usually identified with the Dasas or Dasyus with whom the Vedic Aryans waged their wars. They seem to have been a dark snub-nosed people. They had their *purs* or towns. But the term Dasyu seems to have been of wider denotation than Dravidian for, according to a Vedic work, it includes not only the Andhras or Telugus

Dravidian languages.

who are Dravidians, but also the Savaras who belong to the Munda group. According to Caldwell, the primitive Dravidians were "without hereditary 'priests' and 'idols', and appear to have had no idea of 'heaven' or 'hell', of the 'soul' or 'sin'; but they acknowledged the existence of God, whom they styled Ko, or King. They erected to his honour a 'temple', which they called Ko-il, 'God's house' ". In later times the Dravidians were devoted to the cults of Siva, and of mother-goddesses, Nagas, Yakshas and other spirits. They had a splendid literature of their own and carried on a flourishing trade with foreign lands. It is clear that they developed a very high degree of civilisation. But their identity with the creators of the famous Indus civilisation must remain for the present an open question.

Dravidian civilisation.

Tibeto-Burmans :—The Dravidians, as already stated, probably came to India from the north-west. Another people came to India in early times through the north-east passes and became the ancestors of the Bhotias, Nagas, Lepchas, Kirantis and other people of north-east India and Nepal who speak the so-called Tibeto-Burman languages, and are of Mongolian origin. The Kirantis are usually identified with the Kiratas, a people already mentioned in the Vedas who appear to have lived in caves.

Kiratas.

Aryans :—All the races mentioned above had to yield in the long run to another people known as Aryans—a tall, fair, long-nosed race of men who worshipped Indra, Dyaus, Mitra, Varuna and other gods and spoke a language essentially akin to Iranian as seen in the Avesta, the sacred book of the Persians, and more remotely to the tongues of the most enlightened nations of the European continent. Mainly on the strength of this linguistic affinity and the similarity of the names of certain deities, the Aryans

who came to India are regarded as the cousins, not only of the Iranians or Persians, but also of European nations like the Greeks, Romans, Germans and the English. But community of language and religion does not necessarily prove racial affinity.

Affinity with Persians and Europeans.

Later Immigrations:—In the sixth century B.C. the Persians founded a powerful empire extending from the Aegean Sea to the Hindukush and conquered a considerable portion of the Indus Valley. They were followed a few centuries later by the Macedonians and the Greeks who established themselves in the Punjab and some other places in north-west India. From the second century B.C. hordes of Central Asian nomads—the Sakas, the Kushans, and the Huns—poured through the north-western gates of India and settled in large numbers in Peshawar, Taxila, Sialkot, Mathura, Rajputana, Malwa, Kathiawar and some adjoining territories. In the opinion of scholars these immigrants contributed an important element to the Indian population in several provinces. In the seventh century A.D. a section of the people of Persia, fleeing before the advancing arms of Islam, sought shelter in certain parts of Western India and were hospitably received by the people of the locality. They are now known as the Parsis and constitute an enterprising section of the Indian community in the Bombay Presidency. In the eighth century the Arabs conquered Sind. In the eleventh and succeeding centuries the Turks and connected races occupied the Punjab and gradually made themselves masters of the greater part of India. These invaders professed the religion of Islam and introduced a fresh and vigorous element into the Indian population.

Ancient Persians.

Greeks.

Scythians and Huns.

Parsis.

Muslims.

BOOK II

ANCIENT INDIA

CHAPTER III

SOURCES OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

Classification of Materials for History :—Materials for the early history of India are derived principally from the following sources: monuments, Indian literature, inscriptions and coins, and foreign accounts.

Monuments:—Monumental evidence makes little direct contribution to the materials for political history. But it is of great value to the student of ethnology and cultural history, particularly of those periods for which no written records, either literary or epigraphic, are available.

Indian Literature :—Indian works useful for the purposes of the historian are of two kinds, viz., historical compositions and non-historical texts which contain references and allusions to the doings of the great kings and sages of old as well as to the manners, customs and institutions of the people. Among works of a professedly historical character the most important are the sections of the Puranas giving dynastic lists down to the time of the Imperial Guptas, the *Charitas* or biographical sketches of eminent kings like Harsha of Kanauj, Ramapala of Bengal and Vikramaditya VI of Kalyana and, lastly, the chronicle of Kashmir known as the Rajatarangini, the author of which is Kalhana. Works of the second class include Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist sacred and secular texts such as the Vedas, the Epics, the Sutras, the Jatakas, and the

Historical works.

Non-historical literature.

Arthasastra which give valuable information regarding the traditional history of the earliest period.

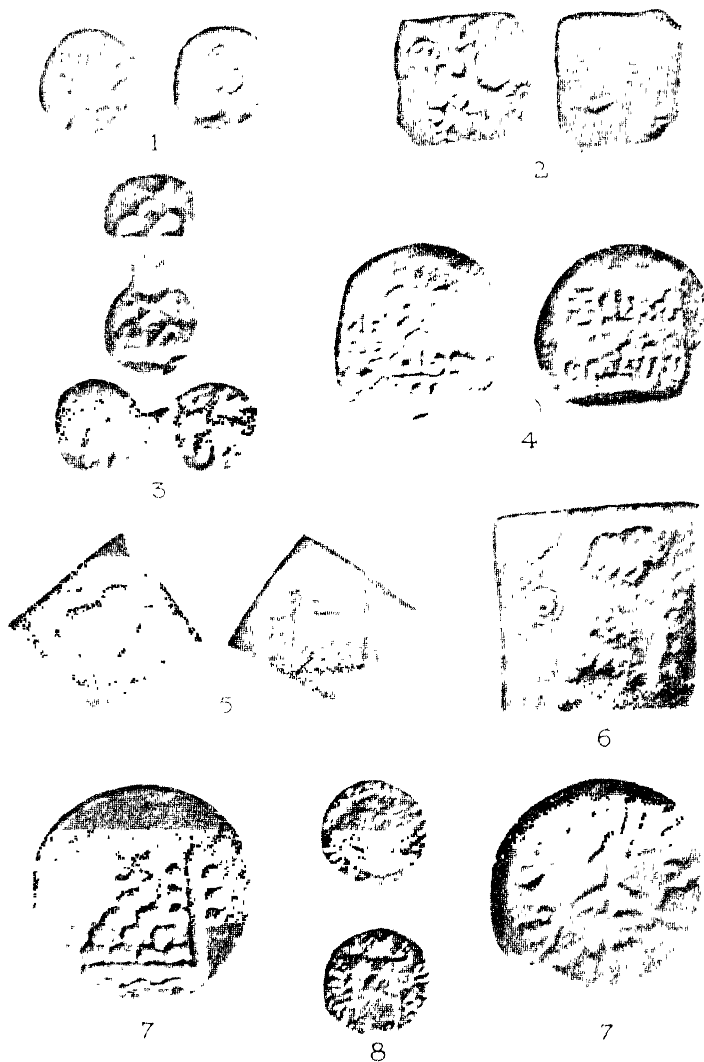
Inscriptions and Coins:—Inscriptions form the most copious and important source of the history of the Asokan and post-Asokan periods. They are of various kinds, e.g. sermons on stone, panegyrical accounts of the deeds of kings and other great men and records of donations mostly engraved on copper. The earliest inscriptions, e.g. those on seals discovered at Mahenjo-Daro have not yet been deciphered. The records of the Maurya, Greek and Scythian periods are written in two alphabets, called by scholars Brahmi and Kharoshthi. A clue to the decipherment of these scripts was obtained from a study of the bilingual legends on coins struck by foreign princes who ruled over North-Western India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Coins are thus extremely valuable to the historian. For the history of several dynasties they constitute almost the sole evidence. We have an ancient coinage described by numismatists as "punch-marked". The Dharmasastras denote coins of this kind as Puranas. They do not bear the name of any king and were in the opinion of some scholars struck by private merchants or guilds. They are covered with various devices which reproduce familiar objects like human figures, arms, trees, animals, etc. From the fourth century B.C. Indian princes and possibly guilds began to issue silver and copper pieces modelled on Greek lines, and, from the first century A.D., Indo-Scythian potentates issued coins bearing a king's head in imitation of the imperial Roman coinage.

Inscriptions.

Coins.

Foreign Accounts:—If we omit the obscure references to Ophir or Sophir (probably Sauvira) in the Bible, the Persians are the earliest foreign people to leave any account of India. They were followed by the Greeks. Megasthenes in particular has left a valuable

Megasthenes.



Some ancient coins

account of the institutions of Maurya India, and the anonymous author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* throws a flood of light on the economic life of the Indian people in the first century A.D. For the age of the Kushans, the Guptas and Harsha we are much indebted to the records of Chinese annalists and pilgrims. The Khivan writer Alberuni gives an interesting account of Hindu civilisation on the eve of the Muslim conquest.

Chinese pilgrims.

Alberuni.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMMIGRATION OF THE ARYANS AND THEIR EARLY CIVILISATION

Early home of the Aryans.

Aryans in their Old Home:—Indian tradition preserves distinct memories of an early home (*pratna okas*) of the Aryans. The identity of this primitive abode is uncertain. Various territories, e.g. Central Asia, the Arctic region, Southern Russia and Austria-Hungary, have been suggested as the original cradle of the race. The earliest *historical* traces of *Indra-worshipping* Aryans have, however, been found not in these countries, but in places near and beyond the Zagros mountains in Western Asia. Inscriptions discovered in these regions, and particularly at Boghaz-Koi near Angora, disclose the existence of a people who lived in Mesopotamia and certain adjoining tracts in the second millennium B.C. and worshipped Indra, Mitra, Varuna and the heavenly twins, the Nasatyas.

Aryan Migration to India:—Eventually the Aryans came to India and imposed their rule on the indigenous races. It is not known for certain when they first migrated to this country. But their occupation of the northern provinces must have taken place several centuries before the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century B. C.

Indo-Aryans.

Sapta Sindhu:—The Indo-Aryans at first seem to have settled in the land of the seven rivers (*Sapta Sindhavas*), which is synonymous with the north-west of India from the Kabul to the Sarasvati. In the form Hapta Hindu the name occurs in the Avesta, the sacred book of their Persian cousins.

Very little is known regarding the political history of the Aryans in the land of the seven rivers. We only know that there was no unified state and that the people were divided into small tribes like the Gandharis, the Yadus, the Purus, and the Bharatas. These tribes were engaged in ceaseless conflict with the aboriginal inhabitants to whom they gave the name *Dasa* or *Dasyu*, in later times also called Anarya or non-Aryans. The non-Aryans were a dark-skinned flat-nosed race who showed great hostility to the Aryan gods and sacrificial observances. They were not altogether uncivilised. They possessed large herds of cattle, fortified themselves in strongholds called *purs* and offered a stubborn resistance to the newcomers. But gradually they lost ground. Many of them took refuge in the neighbouring mountains. Some were enslaved, while others established friendly relations with the invaders and were ultimately admitted into their social polity. The conquerors fought either on foot or from chariots. They wore coats of mail and metal helmets and were armed with bows, arrows, spears and axes.

Early Aryan tribes.

Struggle with the Dasyus.

There was little political cohesion among the Aryan tribes, and they found themselves often arrayed against one another. The most powerful among the tribes seem to have been the Bharatas. Led by their kings Divodasa and his son or grandson Sudas, they not only waged constant wars with the Dasas but also defeated rival tribes like the Purus. The name of Sudas is specially famous as the hero of the contest known as the Battle of the Ten Kings. In later times the Purus and the Bharatas coalesced to form the Kuru nation.

Battle of the Ten Kings.

Occupation of the Madhya-desa :—The Aryans did not long remain confined to the Land of the Seven Rivers. Already in the Rig Vedic period we have the first beginnings of an expansion towards the east as far as the rivers Jumna and the Ganges and probably also the

Sarayu in Oudh. In the later Vedic period this movement becomes more marked, and flourishing kingdoms sprang up not only on the banks of the upper Ganges but also in the marshy regions beyond the Sadanira (the Gandak or the Rapti). In the eastward expansion the lead was taken by two tribes, viz., the Bharatas and the Videghas (Videhas). The former advanced along the Jumna and the latter across the Sarasvati and the Sadanira. Ultimately the whole of the *Madhya-desa* or the "Middle Country" extending from the Sarasvati to Allahabad together with Benares and North Bihar, was occupied and parcelled out among the following tribes, viz., the Kurus (of Thanesar and the Upper Doab), the Panchalas (of Rohilkhand and the Central Doab), the Matsyas (of the Jaipur region), the Satvats or Surasenas (of Mathura), the Kosalas (of Oudh), the Kasis (of Benares) and the Videhas (of North Bihar). The part of the Kuru country lying between the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati (the Chitang or the Rakshi) came to be known as Brahmavarta or Kurukshetra. The rest of the Kuru realm together with the area occupied by the Panchalas, the Surasenas and the Matsyas became famous as the *Brahmarshi-desa*. Among the kings of the later Vedic period the names of two stand out pre-eminent, namely, Janamejaya, king of the Kurus, and Janaka, king of the Videhas.

Madhya-desa parcelled out.

Kurukshetra.

Janamejaya and Janaka.

Conquest of Eastern India.—South and East Bihar—the land of the Kikatas or Magadhas and the Angas—and Bengal—the home of the Pundras and the Vangas—long remained strongholds of non-Aryan tribes. But they had ultimately to succumb to the Aryans. Magadha became a famous Brahmanical centre as early as the time of the Aranyakas. Anga (East Bihar) and Vanga (East Bengal) are included in the first group of Aryan peoples by the Jain work called the Prajnapana. The country beyond the

Aryanisation of Bengal.

Brahmaputra remained outside the Aryan pale for a long time and in the epics its kings are explicitly represented as rulers of barbarian hordes. **Assam.**

Aryans in Western India :—India to the west of the Middle Country, including no doubt the home of the splendid civilisation which has been laid bare in the ruins of Mahenjo-Daro, seems to be mentioned as the land of the Nichyas and the Apachyas whose kings were, in the age of the later Vedic texts, consecrated with Aryan ritual. But the population was not wholly Aryanised and, even in the Sutra period, well-known Western tribes like the Avantis (of Malwa), the Surashtras (of Kathiawar), the Sindhus and the Sauviras (of the Lower Indus Valley) are referred to as of mixed origin. In the days of the Manu-samhita, however, the name *Aryavarta* (land of the Aryas), originally confined to the Gangetic Doab, was applied to the whole of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and from the Eastern to the Western Ocean. **Aryavarta.**

Exploration of the Deccan:—For a long time the river Jumna seems to have been the southern boundary of the Aryan world. But already in the time of the later Vedic texts the Vindhyas were crossed and Aryan settlements were established in the Deccan (*Dakshina dis,* later called *Dakshinapatha*). The lead in this southern expansion was taken by the Satvats whose kings, styled Bhoja, laid the foundation of the powerful kingdoms of Vidarbha (Berar) and Dandaka (in the Upper Godavari Valley). Beyond these Aryan kingdoms lay the territories of non-Aryan tribes like the Pulindas (of the Narmada Valley), the Savaras (of the hilly tracts of Orissa), the Kalingas (on the coast of the Bay of Bengal extending from the Vaitarani in Orissa to the neighbourhood of the Godavari) and the Andhras (at the mouth of the Godavari and the Krishna). **Dakshina-patha.**

Aryan Exploration of the Far South.

In the Ramayana we see the first beginnings of the Aryan infiltration into the country south of the Godavari. Though vast tracts of the Deccan were still covered with forest, and the main body of Aryan settlers was still confined to the territory lying to the north of the Godavari, Aryan sages had already opened up the country as far south as the Pampa or the Tungabhadra and Aryan princes had pushed on as far as Ceylon.

Political Organisation of the Early Aryans in India :—The basis of the political and social organisation of the Vedic Aryans was the patriarchal family. Families were grouped together into units called *Gramas* or villages. A group of *Gramas* made up the *Vis* or clan and the *Jana* or tribe. The leader of the village was the *Gramani* and that of the *Vis* and *Jana*, the *Vispati* or *Rajan* (king).

The Rajan.

The prevailing form of government was monarchical, though terms applied in later times to non-monarchical communities are also alluded to. The office of king or *Rajan* among the more powerful tribes was normally hereditary. The *Rajan* was the chief Judge, the supreme military leader and the principal patron of the sacrificial priests. He was assisted by officials like the *Senani* or leader of the army and *Gramani* or leader of the village. His power was limited by the will of the people expressed in the assemblies styled *Samiti* and *Sabha*.

Popular Assemblies.

The Imperial ideal in the later Vedic period.

In the later Vedic period the power of the king increased. The small tribes of the Rig Vedic period coalesced to form powerful kingdoms, the rulers of which set up claims to the rank of *Ekarat* or sole monarch and performed sacrifices like the *Rajasuya* (royal consecration), *Vajapeya* ("drink of strength") and *Asvamedha* (horse sacrifice) to emphasise their new status. The official machinery became more

complicated and we hear of new functionaries like the *Samgrahitri* (treasurer), the *Bhagadugha* (collector) and the *Palagala* (courier). The government, however, did not become despotic in practice. The head of the state had to take an oath at the time of his coronation not to play false to his people and he had to defer to the wishes of the Brahmanas and the popular assemblies.

Limitations on absolutism.

Caste :—The two characteristic institutions of the Aryan social polity are *Varna* (caste) and *Asrama* (stages of life). In their mature form they did not exist in the early Vedic period. But it is idle to deny that both existed in embryo in the Rig Vedic age. The Rig Veda knows of hereditary priests and nobles and there are traces in the hymns not only of the distinction between the Aryan colour (*Varna*) and that of the aborigines, but also of the threefold division of the Aryan tribes into the holy power (*Brahman*), the kingly power (*Kshatra*) and commonalty (*Vis*). One hymn contemplates the division of mankind into four classes, viz., the *Brahmana*, the *Rajanya*, the *Vaisya* and the *Sudra*. But the rigid system of later times had not yet come into vogue, and there was hardly any restriction with regard to marriage or profession.

Caste in the Rig Veda.

In the period of the later Vedic texts and the Sutras the distinction between the upper and lower classes became more marked. A ban was gradually laid on intermarriage and interdining. The Brahmana claim to supremacy was not unoften challenged by the Kshatriyas. The number of castes increased, partly as a result of intermarriage which, though looked on with disfavour, was still prevalent and partly as a result of the splitting of the Vaisyas and the Sudras into small functional or tribal groups. The Sudra, the servile caste mainly recruited from the aborigines, though regarded as being impure and not fit to take part in

Caste in the Later Vedic and Sutra period.

Vedic studies and sacrifices, was approximating more and more to the position of the humbler Vaisyas.

Asrama :—A member of each of the three upper classes had to submit to the rigorous discipline of the four *Asramas*, or stages of life. During the first stage, that of the *Brahmacharin*, or Vedic student vowed to chastity, he was to live under a teacher and lead a life of abstinence and humility. During the second stage, that of the *Grihastha*, he had to discharge the ordinary duties of a householder. The third stage was that of the *Vanaprastha* or hermit in the woods, and the fourth, that of the *Sannyasin* or passionless recluse released from all external observances, who spent his time in meditating on the Divinity.

Brahmanical discipline.

Position of Women :—Women occupied a position of honour in Vedic society. Girls received a liberal education, and some of them even composed hymns. The wife was the mistress of the household and took part in religious ceremonies by the side of her husband. The seclusion of women was not known in the early period. Many professions were open to them, e.g. weaving, embroidery, etc. The remarriage of widows was not unknown.

Women in the Rig Vedic Age.

In the period of the later Vedic texts and the Sutras the position of women in some respects tended to decline. Their were-gild was gradually assimilated to that of Sudras. But, if the sage Gobhila is to be believed, their right to wear the sacred thread was not taken away. Enlightened women took part in philosophical discussions at royal courts.

Women in the Later Vedic period.

Economic Life and Social Customs :—The early Vedic Aryans were primarily a pastoral and agricultural people. But the industrial arts were not neglected, and we have references to workers in wood and metal as well as to tanners and weavers who were organised in later times into *srenis* or guilds. Trade

Agriculture.

Industry.

Trade and Maritime navigation.

was mainly carried on in the form of barter, but the use of a metallic currency (*nishka*) was probably not altogether unknown. The story of the shipwreck of Bhujyu probably suggests that the Aryans navigated the Indian Ocean in the early Vedic Age. In later times—the age of the Jatakas—we find references to sea voyages to Baveru or Babylon. But such undertakings were looked upon with disfavour by the sages of the "middle country".

Dress.

The dress worn by the Aryans consisted of an undergarment (*nivi*), a garment (*paridhana*) and a cloak (*adhivasa*). These were generally made of wool and were sometimes adorned with gold. Ornaments of various kinds were also used. Milk, vegetable, and fruits formed the chief articles of food. The eating of meat, specially on ceremonial occasions, was common. But already in the Rig Veda we have evidence of the growing sanctity of the cow. The chief drinks of the Vedic people, besides milk, were the juice of the *Soma* plant and a beverage called *Sura*. Of their amusements the most popular were chariot-racing, hunting, dice, dancing and music.

Food and Drink.

Social recreations.

Rig Vedic gods.

Religion :—The higher gods of the Aryans are personifications of natural phenomena. Father Dyaus (Greek Zeus, Roman Jupiter), the Sky-God, seems to have been the chief deity in the earliest period. He is generally coupled with the Earth goddess. But Dyaus had soon to yield the palm to Varuna, the Encompassing Sky, and the God of the Seas, the great upholder of physical and moral order, and to Indra, the God of thunder and rains. Among other deities the most important were Agni (Fire), the Maruts (Storm Gods), Vayu (the Wind-God), the Asvins or Nasatyas (probably morning and evening stars), Surya (the Sun), Mitra (the personification of the Sun's beneficent agency), Vishnu (the wide-striding Sun), Rudra (the Howling God of

storm and lightning) and Ushas (the Goddess of the Dawn). The idea that various gods are but different forms of a single divinity is found in several passages of the Rig Veda. In the later Vedic period the sacrificial side of religion was greatly developed. The God Prajapati, or the lord of creatures, later identified with Brahma, came to the forefront ; and the worship of Rudra-Siva and Vishnu became more and more popular. Philosophers emphasised the underlying unity of the universe. They agreed that all forms of reality must in the ultimate issue be reduced to one called *Brahman* or *Paramatman*. The belief in the doctrine of transmigration and the law of *Karma* took definite shape. In the Sutra period we have a growing feeling of pity for animals and particularly for the cow. We find also the recognition of images of the gods. Among the deities who now come into prominence, one of the most important is the Mother Goddess who is identified with Durga, the wife of Siva.

Monotheism

Religion in the Later Vedic period.

Brahman.

Ahimsa.

Literature, the Vedas :—Our information regarding the early Aryans in India is derived from their sacred books, called the Veda. The word *Veda* means knowledge and is specially used to denote the four collections of sacred wisdom which from time immemorial Hindus have looked on as the Word of God (*Sruti* or Revelation). These four are known as the Rig Veda, the Sama Veda, the Yajurveda and the Atharva Veda.

Sruti.

The hymns of the Rig Veda are recognised to be the oldest composition in the Sanskrit, or in any Aryan language. They are for the most part addressed to nature gods to whom prayers are offered and libations of the Soma juice poured. They are divided into ten *mandalas* or books. To each mandala is attached the name of the *Rishi* or *Rishis* to whom the hymns are

The Rig Veda.

supposed to have been revealed. The most important of these *Rishis* are Vasishtha and Visvamitra.

The Later Vedas.

The Sama Veda consists for the most part of hymns taken from the Rig Veda but set to music.

The Yajurveda was compiled for the benefit of the *Adhvaryus* or "executors of the sacrifice", and consists mainly of sacrificial formulas.

The Atharva Veda, though containing some magnificent hymns which celebrate the almighty power and omniscience of God, is in the main a collection of magic formulas and spells intended for protection against the baneful influence of demoniac powers, diseases, noxious animals, etc.

Divisions of the Vedic Literature :—The four collections mentioned above constitute only one part of the *Sruti* or revealed literature of the Hindus. There are three other parts, viz., the *Brahmanas* which are mainly prose compositions elucidating the hidden meanings of the Vedic mantras meant for use in sacrifices, the *Aranyakas,* which contain religious speculations meant to be studied in the forest by those who had entered the *Vanaprastha* Asrama, and lastly the *Upanishads,* which are mostly parts of the Aranyakas and which develop the highest religious philosophy of India and contain deep speculations about the nature of Brahman called the Oversoul or Paramatman.

Brahmanas.

Aranyakas.

Upanishads.

Sruti and Smriti.

Sutra Literature:—The revealed literature of India or *sruti* closes with the Upanishads. The sutra literature which follows, is included in the *smriti* or "memory", i.e. tradition, and consists principally of the six Vedangas (the limbs or auxiliary sciences of the Veda) and the six Darsanas or schools of philosophy. Brevity and conciseness are the characteristics of this literature which is composed in the form of aphorisms called *sutras.*

The Six Vedangas :—These are *Siksha* or phonetics, i.e. the science of pronunciation giving rules for the correct reading of the Vedas, *Chhandas* or metre, *Vyakarana* or grammar, a branch of knowledge in which Panini produced his immortal *Ashtadhyayi*, *Nirukta* or etymology, a subject treated by *Yaska*, *Jyotis* or astronomy and lastly *Kalpa* or ritual and law. The manuals on Kalpa include the *Srauta sutras* which contain the rules for the performance of the great sacrifices, the *Sulva sutras* which lay down rules of measurement and are the oldest works on Indian geometry, the *Grihya sutras* which contain directions for the simple ceremonies of daily life and the *Dharma sutras* which deal with law and the mode of government. The metrical codes of Manu and his successors were probably compiled in later times from these earlier *Dharma sutras*.

Panini.

Yaska.

Hindu Geometry.

Laws of Manu.

The Six Darsanas :—These are the Sankhya system of Kapila, the Yoga system of Patanjali, the Nyaya system of Gautama Akshapada, the Vaiseshika system of Kanada, the *Purva Mimamsa* of Jaimini and the *Uttara Mimamsa* or Vedanta of Badarayana Vyasa. The date of the rise of these schools is uncertain But they are usually assigned to the period that intervened between the composition of the Upanishads and that of the Sankhya Karika of Isvara Krishna, who probably flourished in the fourth century A.D.

Date of the Philosophical schools.

The Beginnings of Epic Poetry :—In some of the later Vedic texts we come across myths and legends (*Itihasa*) as well as songs in praise of heroes (*gatha narasamsi*). These *itihasas* and *gathas* soon developed into epic poems. It is interesting to note that the Great Epic called the Mahabharata is already referred to in some of the Sutra works. We have no such early evidence for the existence of the sister epic called the Ramayana, but Valmiki, its reputed author, is probably mentioned in a Pratisakhya sutra and scholars believe

that in its original form the Rama Epic was composed several centuries before the Christian era.

The Mahabharata:—This great epic is attributed to Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa. It narrates the story of a great internecine strife between two branches of the Bharata family of Hastinapura. A Bharata or Kuru King had two sons named Dhritarashtra and Pandu. Dhritarashtra was the father of 102 children headed by Duryodhana, while Pandu had only five sons, the most eminent among whom were Yudhisthira, Bhimasena and Arjuna. The sons of Pandu married Draupadi, the daughter of the King of the Panchalas, and claimed a share of their ancestral kingdom from their cousins. They were given a wild region to the south of the Kuru realm, where they laid the foundation of the city of Indraprastha near modern Delhi. The sons of Dhritarashtra, envious of the prosperity of their rivals, invited Yudhisthira to a game of dice, secured his defeat and sent him and his brothers into exile for a period of thirteen years. When this period expired, the Pandu princes demanded the return of their kingdom. The Kurus under Duryodhana paid no heed to their claim, and the result was the battle of Kurukshetra. The Kuru army, led successively by Bhishma, Drona, Karna and other heroes, was annihilated, and the Pandus returned victorious to the Kuru capital.

Battle of Kurukshetra.

Besides the main story the Mahabharata contains many beautiful episodes, e.g. the tales of Sakuntala, Savitri and Nala, as well as treatises on kingly duty and philosophical poems like the Gita or the Song of the Lord Krishna, the friend and counsellor of the Pandus. The Gita forms the basis of the religion of love and devotion that lies at the root of the theistic movements of the medieval period.

Episodes in the Mahabharata.

Krishna and the Gita.

The Ramayana:—It is a *Maha-kavya* or epic attributed to Valmiki. The main story is concerned with

the fortunes of Ramchandra, son of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya (Oudh). Rama married Sita, the daughter of Janaka, king of Videha or North Bihar. His father thought of appointing him *Yuvaraja* or crown prince,



Coronation of Rama and Sita

but a palace intrigue led to his banishment for fourteen years. The unfortunate prince repaired to the Dandaka forest, attended by his wife Sita and his step-brother Lakshmana, and took up his abode on the banks of the river Godavari. Sita was carried off from this place by Ravana, king of Lanka (Ceylon). Rama allied himself

with the monkey chiefs of Kishkindhya, killed Ravana with most of his family and rescued his wife. After the expiry of the period of his exile, he returned to Ayodhya where he was warmly received by his faithful half-brother Bharata. Rama subsequently banished his beloved queen, in order to silence the murmurs of his subjects. The faithful royal lady was brought to the hermitage of Valmiki, where she gave birth to the twins Kusa and Lava who ultimately succeeded to their ancestral throne.

Importance of the Epics :—The epics are the most sacred scriptures of popular Hinduism, particularly of that religion of *Bhakti* (loving faith) which centres round the figures of Rama and Krishna who are regarded as incarnations of the supreme spirit, Narayana or Vishnu. They are sometimes referred to as the fifth Veda. They have been translated into all the principal vernaculars of India. The Bengali versions of Krittivasa and Kasi Das and the Hindi Rama-charita-manasa of Tulsidas, are the most favourite books of millions of Hindus in Bengal and Upper India. Epic heroes are venerated as ideal men. Heroines like Sita and Savitri are models of womanhood. The prowess of Arjuna and Bhimasena, the devotion of Lakshmana, the truthfulness of Bhishma and the magnanimity of Karna are constantly adverted to in inscriptions and other records of the historical period. The epics form the great storehouse which has supplied later poets like Kalidasa and Bharavi with the themes of many of their masterpieces. They also give a faithful picture of the social conditions of the Heroic Age. An interesting usage of the period is *svayambara* or self-choice. "A princess chose her husband from among the assembled suitors of her own free will or as the result of a contest in the use of warlike arms".

The Bhakti religion.

Tulsidas.

Svayambara

CHAPTER V

JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

Reaction against the sacrificial religion.

Reaction against Ritualism and animal Sacrifice :—In the later Vedic period religion had become more a matter of form than of faith. The barren ritualism of the age could not long satisfy the religious craving of the mass of the people. Free speculation was abroad. A new feeling of pity for animals and the desire not to hurt life became manifest on all sides. All these led to a reaction against the ritual-ridden religion of the Brahmanas. The movements for reform culminated in the western part of the "Middle Country" in the rise of theistic systems that inculcated Bhakti in Krishna and Siva (in his benign aspect) as the only way to deliverance. In the east they took a decidedly anti-Brahmanical turn. Their chief exponents were found among the warrior caste ; and it is to two members of this caste that Jainism and Buddhism owed their origin.

Theistic movements.

Non-Brahmanical movements.

Rise of Jainism :—Tradition associates the rise of Jainism with twenty-four saints styled Tirthankaras, the first of whom was Rishabha and the last two, Parsvanatha and Mahavira. Parsva is regarded by scholars as the real founder of the religion. He was the son of a king of Benares and he enjoined on his followers four great vows, viz., not to injure life, to be truthful, not to steal, and to possess no property.

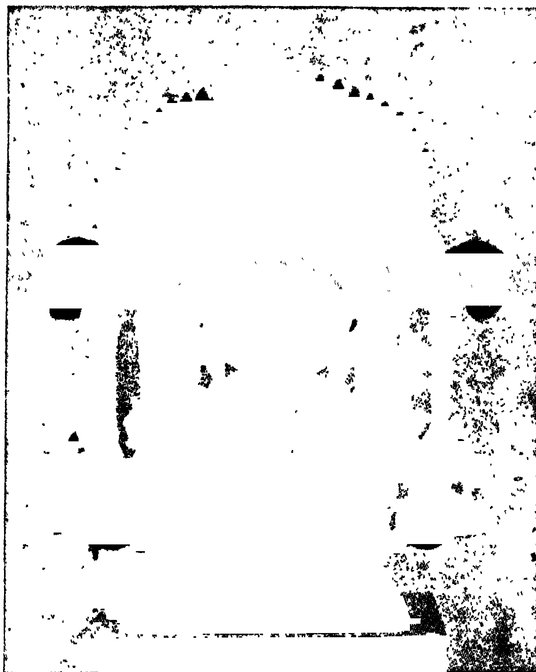
The Tirthankaras.

Parsva.

Mahavira :—The last of the Tirthankaras, known in his younger days as Vardhamana, was born near Vaisali in North Bihar. His father Siddhartha was the head of a warrior clan called the Jnatrikas. Little is known regarding the early life of Vardhamana. He married a lady named Yasoda and had by her a daughter. But he forsook the world at the age of thirty

and spent twelve years in penance and meditation. In the thirteenth year he reached supreme knowledge and became a *Jina* (conqueror). Henceforth he was known as Mahavira or the Great Hero. He founded a sect called *Nirgranthas* ("free from fetters"), known in later times as Jainas (followers of the *Jina* or conqueror). He is said to have died in or about 528-27 B.C. in the little town of Pawa in South Bihar.

Nirgranthas or Jainas.



Parsvanatha

To the four great vows of Parsva Mahavira added a fifth, namely, that of chastity. Unlike Parsva who allowed his followers to wear garments, he enforced a rule that obliged the ascetics to be completely naked.

Mahavira's Teaching.

According to the Jains there is no divine creative spirit. "God is only the highest manifestation of the powers that lie latent in the soul of man". Deliverance, according to this religion, is the entry of the soul into a blessedness that has no end. The sacred scriptures of the Jains are known as *Angas, Upangas, Mula-Sutras,* etc. In about 300 B.C. the Jaina church began to show signs of disintegration. Eventually it split up into the two great sects of the Svetambaras (clad in white) and the Digambaras (clad in air, *i.e.* naked).

Buddhism :—The founder of Buddhism was



Buddha

Siddhartha Gautama, the son of Suddhodana, the chief of the Sakya clan of Kapilavastu, a city lying in the narrow strip of territory between the Rapti and the mountains to the north of the Basti district. Siddhartha was born at the Lumbini grove and the site of his nativity is marked by the famous Rummindei pillar of Asoka. He lost his mother at birth and grew up under the special care of his aunt and stepmother, Prajapati Gautami. On reaching the age of sixteen he married a girl named Yasodhara and lived for some time in luxury in the royal palace. But four ominous sights—an old man, a sick man, a corpse and a monk—made a deep impression on his mind and he felt a strong inclination to forsake the world. About this time Yasodhara bore a son. Fearing that this fresh bond would be an obstacle to his going away, he left home and roamed through Bihar as a wandering monk. He practised the most rigid penance at Uruvilva near Gaya, but soon perceived that mortification was not the way to enlightenment. After bathing in the river Nairanjana (modern Lilajan-Phalgu) he sat under a Pippal tree at Bodh Gaya and attained omniscience. Henceforth he became known as the Buddha or Enlightened and Sakyamuni or the Sage of the Sakyas. He next went to Sarnath near Benares and began to preach his doctrine. He died at Kusinagar, modern Kasia, in the Gorakhpur district. The Ceylonese traditional date of his death is 544-543 B.C. But 486 or 483 B.C. is preferred by several modern scholars.

Birth of the Buddha.

Renunciation.

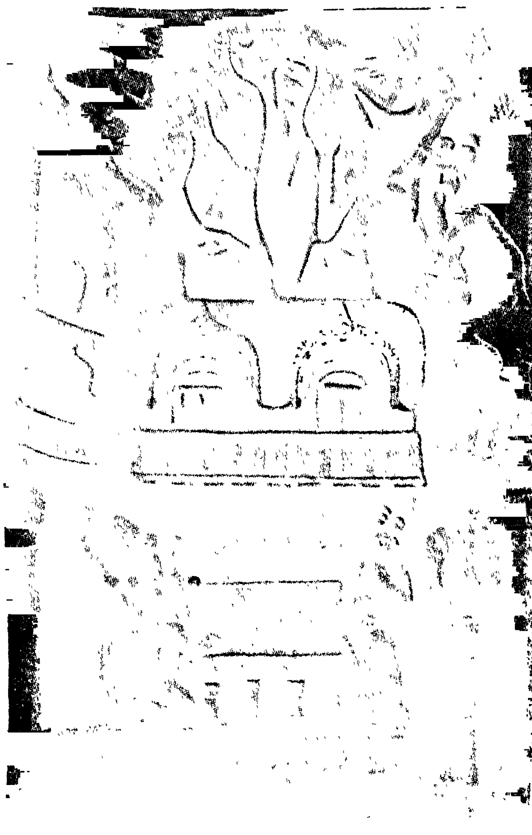
Enlightenment.

Pari-nirvana.

Buddha's Teaching :—Buddha asked his followers to avoid two extremes, namely, the habitual practice of sensuality and the habitual practice of asceticism. He preferred a middle path—the path which leads to *nirvana* (the blowing out of hot passion, of craving thirst), and is called the "noble eightfold path" ; that is to say : "right views, right aspirations, right speech,

The Middle Path.

right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right contemplation".



Bodhi-tree Shrine

Buddhist Councils and Scriptures :—Buddha never wrote anything himself. But his teachings were collected and arranged in a systematic form in the

Buddhist councils that were held after his death. There were at least four such councils, the first being held in Rajagriha just after the death of the Master. The second was convened in Vaisali a century after the first council. The third was summoned in Pataliputra in the reign of Asoka Maurya. The fourth met under Kanishka probably in the first century A.D. The sacred books of the early Buddhists are included in the comprehensive name of *Tripitaka,* or the three baskets. These are the *Sutta* or the sayings and doings of Buddha himself, the *Vinaya* or rules of conduct to be followed by Buddhist monks and nuns and the *Abhidhamma* or metaphysical disquisitions on various subjects. **The Tripitaka.**

Inter-relation of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism:—Both Jainism and Buddhism resemble Hinduism in their quietism and in their belief in *Karma* and *Samsara* or the ethical doctrine of retribution and repeated transmigration. But they differ from the Hindu belief in many respects, e.g. they deny the authority of the Vedas and reject the Vedantic doctrine of the universal soul. They also condemn animal sacrifice. It is, however, well to remember that the doctrine of *Ahimsa* or non-injury to living beings had and still has many adherents within the fold of Hinduism itself. **Karma.** **Ahimsa.**

The Jains hold an intermediate place between the orthodox Hindus and the followers of the Buddha. They agree with the Hindus in many points, such as the employment of Brahmanas; they admit the chief Hindu gods and worship some of them, though they consider them subordinate to their own saints. They agree with the Buddhists in denying the existence of a divine creative spirit, in rejecting the authority of the Vedas, in the worship of deified saints and in scrupulous respect for animal life. They differ from the Buddhists in holding that all nature possesses life, that asceticism

is meritorious and nudity a virtue. They also go to extravagant lengths in the matter of *Ahimsa* and to them are due those curious institutions known as PINJRAPOLS in which creatures of all kinds are protected and fed. The chief objects of their worship are the *Tirthankaras* and not the Buddhas.

Causes of the Survival of Jainism:—Unlike Buddhism, Jainism is still one of the great religions of India proper. It owes its survival to many causes. It stood closer to Brahmanism than Buddhism and therefore excited less hostility. It never undertook a militant missionary propaganda on a large scale, but preferred to practise its rites in a silent unobstrusive manner. It gave the laity a prominent place and received in turn their unstinted support. The existence of Jainism as a living force in the India of today is not a little due to the services of these lay brethren who include in their ranks many wealthy merchants.

Causes of the Decline of Buddhism:—With the fall of the Maurya dynasty and the rise of the Sungas Buddhism lost the powerful patronage of imperial authority in the Ganges Valley. Some of the great Scythian emperors no doubt adopted the Buddhist faith of their new subjects. But in adopting it they transformed the simple creed of the Buddha, which laid special emphasis on a code of morality, into a religion which differed little from Hinduism and inculcated faith in personal beings and devotion to them. Images of the Buddha came to be worshipped like those of the Brahmanic gods, and Sanskrit was used by Buddhist teachers and philosophers in preference to the vernacular which had found favour with their Master. Eventually the Buddha found a place in the Vishnuite Pantheon. The influence of Tantrikism made itself felt in later years and destroyed the pristine purity of the religion of Sakyamuni. The patronage of the imperial Guptas

Transformation of Buddhism and its assimilation by Hinduism.

and several succeeding dynasties, the songs of the Tamil Saints and the preaching of reformers like Kumarila and Sankara brought Brahmanism to the forefront. The last nail was driven into the coffin of Buddhism by the rise of sects like the Sri Vaishnavas and the Lingayats in southern India and the Muslim attacks on "shaven-headed monks" in the north.

Rise of New Sects.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT REPUBLICS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF IMPERIALISM

Sixteen Great States :—During the later Vedic period the Aryans gradually spread over the Gangetic plain and before the close of the age adventurers crossed the great barrier of mountains and forests in Central India and established powerful kingdoms in the Deccan to the north of the Godavari. In or about the sixth century B.C. we find sixteen great states besides a number of smaller principalities flourishing in the extensive region between the Hindukush and the Godavari.

Vajjis.

Republics :—It is interesting to note that some of these states, e.g. the Vajji-Lichchhavi confederation in north Bihar, were republics. The word for a republic in Ancient India is *Sangha* or *Gana*. *Ganas* and *Gana-jyesthas* (Elders) are not unknown to Vedic and Epic literature. But it is about the sixth century B.C. that they first come into prominence as serious rivals of great monarchies. The administrative and judicial business of the republics was carried out in public assembly (*Parishad*) in the common mote hall (*Samsthagara*). Executive authority was exercised by the elders who sometimes bore the title of *Raja*.

Public Assemblies.

Imperial States :—The republican clans had ultimately to yield to their monarchical neighbours who aspired to imperial dominion. The imperial ideal was already in the air in the later Vedic period. About the time of which we are speaking four great kingdoms

BHARATAVARSHA

English Miles

0 100 200 300 400

Kabul
Charsadda
Nagarahara
GANDHARA
Shahdheri (Taxila)
KAMBOJA
KEKAYA
Jammu
Sialkot (Sakala)
MADRA
Lahore
Kangra
Jalandhar
Harappa
Multan
Thanesar
USINARA
YAUDHEYA
KURU
Hardwar
SINDH
Sindhu
Sarasvati
Drishadvati
Indraprastha
Sravasti
DHAVALAGIRI
GAURISANKARA
KAILASA
MATSYA
Mathura
Kanauj
KOSALA
SURASENA
Etawah
Ayodhya
Kapilavastu
Brahmanabad
Ajmer
Gwalior
VIDEHA
Pataliputra
Prayaga
KASI
MAGADHA
Champa
PUNDRA
VARDHANA
Kamakhya
NAGA
Khajuraho
Chitrakut
Kalinjar
Rajagriha
Bodh Gaya
AKARA
PURVAMALAVA
Bharaut
Mandasor
AVANTI
Bhilsa
Sanchi
Rupnath
VANGA
SAMATATA
Patan
Ujjain
SUHMA
Tamralipti
ANARTA
Dhar
Mandu
Narmada
Mandhata
Girnar
Junagarh
SURASHTRA
ANUPA
Amarkantak
MEKALA
Tapi
VIDARBHA
Ajanta
Manmad
Ellora
Mahanadi
Udayagiri
Bhuvanesvar
Puri
Jaugada
SAVARAS
Surparaka
Devagiri
Kalyan
MULAKA
Junnar
ASMAKA
Kanheri
Mahendragiri
DAKSHINAPATHA
Calingapatam
Hanamkonda
Warangal
Kalyani
Malkhed
MAHENDRA
Godavari
ANDHRAPATHA
Krishna
Pishtapura
VENGI
Masalia
Badami
Vijayanagar
Pennar
Banavasi
BANAVASI (VAIJAYANTI)
Belur
GANGAVADI
Sravana Belgola
Conjeeveram
Mamallapuram
Mysore
Gangaikondapuram
Kaveri
DAMIRICA
CHOLA
KERALA
Tanjore
Madura
TAMRAPARNI
PARASAMUDRA
or
SIMHALA
Tinnevelli
Kayal
Korkai
CEYLON

arose, each of which sought to establish its authority over neighbouring states. These were Avanti (the district round Ujjain) ruled by Pradyota, Vatsa (the district round Kosam near Allahabad) governed by Udayana, Kosala (Oudh) dominated by Prasenajit, and Magadha (South Bihar) where Bimbisara held sway. Of these Kosala was at first the most powerful. It was ruled by a line of kings claiming descent from Ikshvaku and having their capital first at Ayodhya and then at Sravasti. Under them Kosala extended its frontiers in all directions, annexed Kasi and brought the Sakya state of Kapilavastu in the Nepalese Tarai into subjection. But a formidable rival soon made its appearance. This was Magadha. **Rise of Kosala.**

Rise of Magadha :—Shut off from the rest of India by the Son, the Ganges and the hills of Chota Nagpur, Magadha was strongly fortified by nature. Its capital Girivraja ("the Hill Fort") was surrounded by five hills which rendered it almost impregnable. About the middle of the sixth century B.C. the throne was occupied by Bimbisara of the Haryanka family, who founded a second capital at New Rajagriha (Rajgir), annexed Anga or East Bihar and acquired a portion of Kasi by marrying a wife from Kosala. **Bimbisara.**

In his old age Bimbisara is said to have been murdered by his son, Ajatasatru. His widow, a princess of Kosala, died of grief. This roused the wrath of her brother, Prasenajit, who made war on the parricide. Ultimately peace was arranged and Kasi was permanently incorporated into the growing empire of Ajatasatru. A more notable achievement of the Magadhan monarch was the annexation of the powerful state of the Vajjis of north Bihar. **Ajatasatru.**

It was in the time of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru that Vardhamana Mahavira and Gautama Buddha preached their doctrines in Magadha. The sway of

that state now extended from the hills of Chota Nagpur to the Himalayas. Need was felt for a capital which occupied a more central position. Accordingly Udayi, the son of Ajatasatru, laid the foundations of the city of Kusumapura or Pataliputra at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges. A fort had already been built on the site by his father.

Foundation of Pataliputra.

The Nanda Empire :—The history of Magadha after Udayi is obscure. But there can be no doubt that the kingdom continued its aggressive career and extended its sway over all the states of the Ganges-Chambal Valley, including the powerful kingdoms of Kosala, Vatsa and Avanti. Towards the close of the fifth or early in the fourth century B.C. the Kshatriya dynasty of the Saisunagas, which had succeeded the line of Haryanka, was replaced by a new family of Sudra origin known as the Nine Nandas. Mahapadma Ugrasena, the first Nanda, was a powerful king whom the Puranas described as an *Ekarat* or sole monarch who destroyed the neighbouring Kshatriya dynasties and brought the whole of the Ganges Valley and perhaps Kalinga under "one umbrella". He was followed by his eight sons the last of whom was known as Dhana Nanda (Nanda the Rich)—the Xandrames or Agrammes of Greek writers. This monarch was said to command a force of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots and 3,000 or 4,000 elephants.

Maha-padma.

Dhana Nanda.

The Invasions of Darius and Alexander :—While the kingdoms and republics of the Ganges Valley were gradually being brought under the sway of Magadha, those in the Indus Valley were passing through vicissitudes of a different kind. About the time when Bimbisara was laying the foundations of Magadhan greatness, a powerful kingdom was established in Persia by Cyrus. It was much enlarged by Darius I (522—486 B.C.). These kings annexed

Darius.

Gandhara (Peshawar and the adjoining districts) and also the Indus Valley, which became a satrapy or province of the Persian empire. In 300 B.C. the Persian power was overthrown by Alexander the Great, king of Macedon. This victorious monarch next set forth to the conquest of India. **The Advance of Alexander.**

The Indian borderland was now divided into a number of small states. The northern districts of the Punjab between the Indus and the Jhelum (Greek Hydaspes) were ruled by Ambhi, whose capital was at Taxila near Hasan Abdal not far from Attock and Rawalpindi. Between the Jhelum and the Chenab was the kingdom of Poros. **Poros.** East of the Chenab were other small principalities and also free kingless (republican) peoples like the Malavas and the Kshudrakas. Alexander crossed the Hindukush in 327 B.C., and first of all subdued the hardy hill folks of the difficult country north of the Kabul river. He then crossed the Indus to Taxila and received the homage of Ambhi. The invader now advanced to the Hydaspes (326 B.C.) where he met with a stubborn resistance from Poros. **Battle of the Hydaspes** The Indian king fought valiantly, but the Macedonians gained the day and took him prisoner. Alexander, struck with admiration at the prowess of his vanquished enemy, asked him how he would like to be treated. "Treat me like a king" said Poros. Pleased with the answer, the Macedonian king treated his prisoner generously, and gave him back his kingdom. The treatment accorded to Poros was inspired partly by deep policy—by a desire to consolidate Macedonian authority by playing on the mutual jealously of Ambhi and Poros.

Alexander next pushed on to the Hyphasis or the Beas. He wished to explore the Valley of the Ganges. But his army would not allow him to go farther. **Retreat of Alexander.** Thereupon he retraced his steps to the Hydaspes.

His officers had prepared a large fleet of transports on which he embarked a part of his army. The rest marched along the banks of the river. On their way they encountered formibale resistance from the Malavas who wounded Alexander himself. The Macedonians ultimately stormed the stronghold of the tribe, and ordered a general massacre. Even women and children were not spared. Alexander now resumed his voyage down the rivers and reached the Indian Ocean. The fleet sailed up the Persian Gulf to the Tigris, while the king himself led a division of his troops through the desert of Baluchistan. After much suffering Alexander arrived at Babylon, where he died in 323 B.C.

Immediate Result.

Effects of Alexander's Invasion :—The immediate effect of the daring raid of Alexander was the establishment of direct contact between Greece and India. The conquests of the Macedonian opened up new lines of communication between this country and Europe, and established secure routes for trade. Indirectly Alexander paved the way for the political unification of Northern India by destroying the autonomy of the tubulent kings and tribes of the Indus Valley. The cities and garrisons that he founded in North-West India were not all wiped out by the Mauryas. Asoka recognises the presence of *Yavanas* (Greeks) in his empire, and a *Yavana-raja* (Greek potentate) was entrusted by him with the responsible work of administering the province of Surashtra or Kathiawar. Though the invasion of Alexander himself probably left no permanent trace upon Indian institutions, it undoubtedly resulted in the long run in the development of Greek political power in the Indian borderland. The growth of this power stimulated exchange of ideas between India and Europe. Greek rulers and statesmen like Menander and Heliodoros

Remote effect.

listened with respectful attention to Indian teachers. On the other hand Greek influence made itself felt in the domain of Indian art, iconography, astronomy and coinage.

CHAPTER VII

THE MAURYA EMPIRE

The Greek inroads and the Rise of the Mauryas.

The Greek Menace:—The return of Alexander did not mean the complete cessation of Greek military activities directed to the conquest of India. For centuries the Greeks, or *Yavanas* as they were called by the Hindus, became a source of constant trouble to this country. Echoes of conflicts between them and the people of India are heard as late as the second century A.D., when the mother of a king of the Deccan takes pride in calling her son the destroyer of *Yavanas* and other barbarians. If India succeeded in preserving her independence, it was mainly due to the efforts of one great man—Chandra Gupta. The poet of the Sanskrit play called the *Mudra Rakshasa* gratefully recollects the achievements of the king whose strong arm gave protection to "the earth harassed by barbarians".

Origin of the Mauryas.

Chandra Gupta Maurya:—The ancestry of Chandra Gupta is obscure. The dynasty to which he belonged was called the Maurya. Hindu literary tradition derives this term from his mother or grandmother Mura, and represents him as an illegitimate scion of the Nanda dynasty. The Buddhists, on the other hand, uniformly describe the Mauryas as a Kshatriya clan, which once ruled over the little state of Pipphalivana in the days of the Buddha.

Fall of the Nandas.

The rule of the Nandas in Magadha was oppressive; and tradition says that young Chandra Gupta overthrew the dynasty with the help of a Taxilian Brahman named Chanakya or Kautilya. He also made war on the generals of Alexander and, in the words of a Roman

historian, "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck of India". Seleukos, one of the ablest commanders of Alexander, who had carved out a kingdom for himself in Syria and other countries of Western Asia, made an attempt to reconquer the Punjab, but failed. He was forced to make peace with Chandra Gupta and surrender four of the provinces of his empire, embracing the greater part of modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan. He also entered into a matrimonial alliance with his Indian rival and sent to his court an ambassador named Megasthenes. The overthrow of the Nandas and the expulsion of the Greeks made Chandra Gupta the undisputed ruler of an empire that extended over the whole Indo-Gangetic plain, and soon included the distant province of Surashtra. If tradition is to be believed, a connexion was also established with the southern country of Mysore where the great emperor is said to have spent the last years of his life.

Expulsion of the Greeks.

Treaty with Seleukos.

Extent of Chandra Gupta's Empire.

Megasthenes:—The Greek envoy at the Maurya court was a shrewd observer of men and affairs, and left an interesting account of the people of India and the institutions of the period. He found the people divided into seven castes, namely, philosophers, husbandmen, herdsmen and hunters, artisans and traders, soldiers, overseers, and councillors. The Indians are described as simple in their manners. Theft was a thing of very rare occurrence among them. They never drank wine except at a sacrifice. They seldom went to law and they confided in each other. No Indian was accused of lying, and it was contrary to usage for an Indian either to do or to suffer wrong. In certain parts of the country slavery was unknown. Men of the cultivating class were regarded as public benefactors and protected from all harm. The land being unravaged supplied the people with all that was required to make them happy.

Social divisions.

Character of the People.

The Capital. Pataliputra, the imperial capital, stood at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges. The city was more than nine miles in length and about two miles in breadth. It was protected by a ditch and by walls that had five hundred and seventy towers and sixty-four gates. The imperial palace was chiefly built of wood, but it excelled in splendour the palaces of the kings of Persia.

Civil government. **Municipal Boards.** The administration of the capital city was placed in charge of a council of thirty, divided into six boards of five each. They were entrusted with the following duties, viz., supervision of the industrial arts, care of foreigners, registration of births and deaths, control of trade and commerce, supervision and sale of manufactured articles and collection of the tenth of the prices of the articles sold.

Rural officials. Irrigation. **Harsh laws.** **Spies.** There was also a body of rural officials who looked after irrigation, land revenue and public works. They constructed roads and set up pillars to show the by-roads and distances. Order was maintained by severe laws. Mutilation was one of the modes of punishment. Strict control was maintained over all affairs by means of spies to whom was consigned the duty of watching all that went on and of making reports secretly to the King.

The Army and the Navy. The strength of the government was not a little due to a fine standing army, which comprised 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and a large number of chariots. There was also a fleet under an admiral. The affairs of the army and the navy were, like those of the imperial capital, entrusted to a governing body of thirty divided into six boards of five each. One board was appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet. Another had charge of transport and commissariat, while the rest looked after the foot soldiers, the horses, the war chariots and the elephants.

The Arthasastra of Kautilya :—Interesting details regarding some of the points noted by Megasthenes are given in a work called the *Arthasastra*, or Art of Government, attributed to Kautilya, the minister of Chandra Gupta. The date of the work is uncertain. But there is reason to believe that it existed in the early centuries of the Christian era, if not in the Maurya period. Like the Greek envoy, the author of the Arthasastra refers to an elaborate system of administration. The king was assisted by a body of officials styled *mahamatras* and *amatyas*, who corresponded to the councillors of Megasthenes. There was a council of ministers (*mantri parishad*) whom the king consulted in times of emergency. Reference is also made to officers in charge of the city and the army (*Nagaradhyaksha* and *Baladhyaksha*) and also to the division and sub-division of the empire into provinces and villages. Control over officials as well as the people was maintained by an elaborate system of espionage. The king had a female guard. He was enjoined to look upon himself as a servant of the people and to regard the happiness of his subjects as his own happiness and their welfare as his own welfare.

Maha-matras.

Council of Ministers.

Adhya-kshas.

Adminis-trative divisions.

Spies and Female guard.

Devotion to popular welfare.

Bindusara :—Chandra Gupta died after a reign of twenty-four years (c. 324 to 300 B.C.). He was succeeded by his son, Bindusara Amitraghata ("slayer of foes"). The new king maintained the integrity of the empire and suppressed revolts in outlying provinces. He is also credited by some authors with the conquest of the Deccan. In his relation with the Greek princes he pursued a pacific policy. The King of Syria and Western Asia, probably the successor of Seleukos, sent to his court an envoy named Deimachos. Another envoy was sent to him or his successor by the King of Egypt.

Suppres-sion of Revolt.

Friendship with Greeks.

Asoka and his Coronation (c. 273 or 272 to c. 232 B.C.):—Thanks to the heroism of Chandra Gupta and the policy of his son the menace of Greek invasion was for the time unfelt. India was left free to work out her destiny. The career of Asoka Priyadarsin, son of Bindusara, shows how she utilised this opportunity. Bindusara died after a reign of 25, 27 or 28 years. According to tradition, there was a fight for the crown among his sons out of which Asoka emerged triumphant after defeating his brothers. We do not know if there is any truth in this story. There is, however, reason to believe that the coronation of the new monarch was delayed for about four years after his accession.

Coronation delayed.

Asoka as a Conqueror:—In his early years Asoka was a typical Magadhan ruler, whose one thought was the extension of his dominions. Eight years after his coronation he conquered the powerful kingdom of Kalinga extending along the coast of the Bay of Bengal from the river Vaitarani in Orissa to the neighbourhood of the Godavari. The sight of the misery and bloodshed in the Kalinga campaign made a deep impression on him, and awakened in his breast feelings of remorse and sorrow. A thorough change came over him, and he propounded a new theory of conquest, namely, conquest not by the sword but by righteousness (*Dharmavijaya*). True to his principle, he made no attempt to annex the territories of his southern neighbours and foreign contemporaries, viz., the kingdoms of Chola (Trichinopoly and Tanjore), Pandya (Madura and Tinnevelly), Satyaputra (North Malabar), Keralaputra (South Malabar and North Travancore), Tamraparni (Ceylon), and the realms of the Greek kings Antiochos Theos of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, Magas of Cyrene, Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon and Alexander of Epirus or of Corinth. To the people of these countries he sent,

Conquest of Kalinga.

Dharma-vijaya.

Tamil Contemporaries of Asoka.

Greek Contemporaries of Asoka.

not soldiers to kill, but missionaries to preach the law of duty and establish institutions for the welfare of man and beast.

Asoka as a Buddhist:—After the Kalinga war Asoka seems to have become an ardent Buddhist, and he made it the business of his life to propagate the new faith. He was at first a lay disciple, but afterwards joined the Sangha or the Buddhist order of monks. He organised a powerful system of missions to carry the teaching of the Buddha not only to the distant corners of India, but also to the territories of his Ceylonese and Greek contemporaries. The Ceylonese mission was led by his brother or son Mahendra. The propaganda in India was entrusted to imperial officials, and new functionaries called *Dharma-Mahamatras* were specially created for the purpose. The work of these officers was facilitated by the promulgation of the famous *dharmalipis* or precepts on religion, which were engraved on rocks and pillars throughout the imperial dominions. These *dharmalipis* inculcate reverence for parents and other superiors, proper treatment of fellow men, kindness to living creatures, truthfulness, toleration and other virtues. The emperor abolished the old tours of pleasure and commenced tours of piety. In pursuance of this he made a pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism. Tradition affirms that in his time a council was convened at Pataliputra to reform the Church and revise the scriptures. Though a Buddhist Asoka never showed any hostility to other religious but, on the contrary, extended his patronage to all sects including the Brahmanas and the Jainas. He cared only for the essence of religion and did his best to promote concord among all denominations.

Missionary Activity.

Dharmalipis.

Pilgrimage to the Buddhist Holy Land.

Council at Pataliputra.

Asoka's toleration.

Asoka as a Paternal King:—The conquest of Kalinga rounded off the Maurya dominions and made

Extent of Empire.

Asoka the master of an empire that stretched from the Hindukush in the north to Mysore in the south, and from the Brahmaputra in the east to Kathiawar in the west. He inherited the efficient administrative system of his forbears but mitigated its rigours to a considerable extent. He declared himself to be the father of his people and adopted measures to promote their well-being. From the time of his ancestors the outlying provinces of the empire had been placed in charge of princes of the blood, who were assisted by bodies of *mahamatras*. To prevent miscarriage of justice in these places he sent officials who were of a mild and temperate disposition and regardful of the sanctity of life. Another class of officers called *Rajukas* were granted power to promote the happiness of the people like skilful nurses. Criminal laws were made more humane and regulations were issued restricting the slaughter and mutilation of animals. Provision was made for the relief of the poor by the distribution of alms. Healing arrangements were made for men and beasts. Along the roads wells were dug and trees planted for the comfort of travellers.

Adminis-tration.

Hospitals and Roads.

Asoka as a Builder :—Asoka's name stands high as a builder. He replaced the wooden palaces of the time of his grandfather by permanent works in masonry, the remains of which have been laid bare at Kumrahar and other places near Patna. He also caused numerous stupas, pillars and cave dwellings to be erected. Modern critics are eloquent in their praise of the polished surface of his columns and the fine workmanship of their crowning sculptures.

Asoka's Palace.

Stupas and Pillars.

Review of the Career of Asoka :—By strenuous efforts and indomitable energy Asoka succeeded in transforming Buddhism into a world religion. His teaching and example continued to inspire Indian

Transformation of Buddhism into a world religion.

Beneficent Activity.

rulers and public men long after he had passed away. The dream of a united India under one ruler wielding

Political unification of India.

unquestioned authority "from the one end up to the further side of the country bounded by the ocean" came near realisation in his days. But the deliberate abandonment of military activity did not certainly increase his empire's capacity for defence, and after his death the power that had hurled back the battalions of Seleukos proved unequal to the task of protecting the imperial dominions from the attacks of the Greek princelings of Bactria.

Military inefficiency.



Lion Capital, Sarnath

The Later Mauryas:—The death of Asoka was perhaps the signal for the dismemberment of his empire. One of his sons established an independent sovereignty in Kashmir. Another son obtained the throne of Pataliputra. But the rule of the latter was probably

Maurya Disruption.

nominal and the imperial dominions seem to have been actually governed by two grandsons of the late king, Dasaratha and Samprati. Little is known of the kings who came after them. The evidence of the *Gargi Samhita* suggests that their rule was weak and oppressive. The princes of the Deccan and the Kabul Valley declared their independence. The Greeks renewed their incursions and even threatened the Gangetic provinces. The last of the imperial Mauryas was Brihadratha who was murdered in or about 187 B.C. by his general Pushyamitra Sunga.

Greek Invasions.

Fall of the Mauryas.

CHAPTER VIII

SUCCESSORS OF THE IMPERIAL MAURYAS

The Brahmana Empire in the Ganges Valley :— In Magadha and the neighbouring provinces the Mauryas were succeeded by Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty (c. 187 to 75 B.C.). The new line was probably of Brahmana origin. The dominions of its founder extended to the river Narmada in the South and probably the Beas in the North. The government of eastern Malwa was entrusted to the Crown Prince Agnimitra, the hero of one of the plays of Kalidasa, who won a victory over a king of Berar. The Sungas, however, failed, according to some modern writers, to check the expansion of the kingdom of Kalinga, which declared its independence under a dynasty whose greatest king was Kharavela. The Greeks, emboldened no doubt by the weakness of the Magadhan empire, advanced as far as Oudh and a place near Chitor in Rajputana, and even threatened Pataliputra, but they were repulsed. Pushyamitra crowned his successes with the celebration of two horse sacrifices. The performance was witnessed by the celebrated grammarian Patanjali. The revival of animal sacrifice undoubtedly marked the recrudescence of Brahmanical influence at the imperial court, and Buddhist writers represent Pushyamitra as a persecutor of their religion. But the famous Buddhist monuments in Central India erected during the "sovereignty of the Sungas" do not bear out the theory that the latter led a movement of militant and intolerant Brahmanism.

Pushyamitra Sunga. **Extent of the Sunga Empire.** **Greeks repulsed.** **Horse sacrifice.** **Brahmanical revival.**

Agnimitra. Pushyamitra was succeeded by his son Agnimitra.

During his reign and that of his successors, Vidisa (modern Besnagar in Eastern Malwa) seems to have been the chief centre of Sunga power. The kings of Vidisa maintained friendly relations with the Greek kings who established themselves at Taxila. **Vidisa.**

The later Sungas were mere puppets in the hands of their Brahmana ministers. Eventually a minister named Vasudeva killed his master and founded a new dynasty—that of the Kanvas—which ruled for forty-five years. The new line was overthrown about 30 B.C. by a king of the Andhra or Satavahana dynasty of the Deccan. Petty kings whose names ended in —*mitra* continued to rule in Oudh, Kosam near Allahabad, Mathura and other places till the Scythian conquest. **Kanvas.** **"Mitra" Kings.**

The Deccan:—In the Deccan proper, i.e. the country between the Narmada and the Krishna, the fall of the Maurya authority was followed by the rise of two great powers, viz., the Cheta or Cheti kingdom of Kalinga and the Satavahana kingdom of Dakshinapatha. Under a king named Kharavela Kalinga defied the military power of the contemporary rulers of northern and southern India. But its career of conquest was short-lived, and the hegemony of the Deccan passed into the hands of the Satavahanas. **Kharavela king of Kalinga.**

The Satavahana Empire:—The founder of the Satavahana line was Simuka, whose son Satakarni I entered into a matrimonial alliance with the "Maharathis" of the Western Deccan, conquered Eastern Malwa and performed the horse sacrifice. Sometime after his death Scythian invaders seized a considerable part of the Satavahana empire. But the power of the dynasty was restored by Gautamiputra Satakarni, who not only freed his country from foreign yoke, but carried his arms as far as Malwa in the north and Kanara in the south. His son Pulumayi is known **Gautamiputra Satakarni.**

Pratishthana. to have had his capital at Pratishthana or Paithan on the Godavari. Either he or his brother married the daughter of the Scythian prince Rudradaman, the ruler of Malwa, Kathiawar and the neighbouring provinces. The last notable king of the Satavahana line was Yajna sri, after whom the empire split up. **Abhiras.** The Abhiras rose to power in the districts round Nasik, the **Vakatakas.** Kadambas and the Gangas in Mysore, the Vakatakas in Berar and the adjoining provinces, the Ikshvakus and the Pallavas in the territory extending from the lower basin of the Krishna to the neighbourhood of Madras.

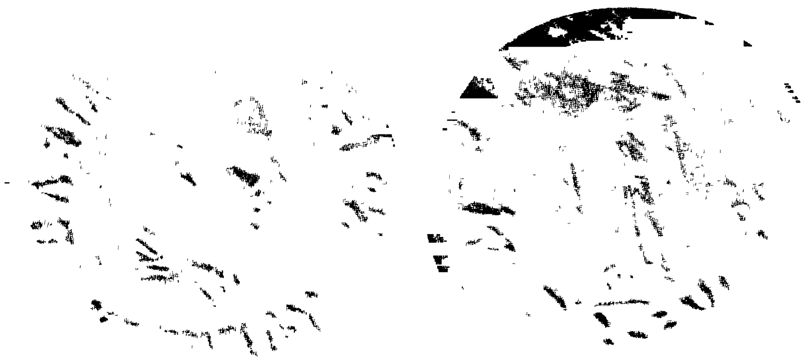
The Far South :—The extreme south of India, inhabited by the Tamil race, lay outside the limits of the Maurya Empire. In the days of Asoka it was divided into four kingdoms, viz., Chola (Tanjore and Trichinopoly), Pandya (Madura and Tinnevelly), Keralaputra (South Malabar) and Satyaputra (North Malabar). In later times Satyaputra disappeared and a new power—the Pallava—arose in the district near **Pallava kingdom.** Madras. The Pallava kingdom was firmly established in the 4th century A.D. and had its capital at Kanchi, modern Conjeveram, near Madras. One of its rulers Vishnugopa was defeated by Samudra Gupta about **Cholas and Pandyas.** A.D. 350. Among the other Tamil powers the Cholas showed great political and military activity. A chief of Chola origin ruled in Ceylon in the second century B.C. But in commerce the Pandyas stood pre-eminent. A Pandya king sent a mission to the Roman emperor Augustus in the first century B.C. Pandya ports became famous centres of the pearl trade.

In later times the Tamil peoples developed an **Tamil Civilization.** alphabet called the Vatteluttu ("round-hand") and a rich literature containing works of special merit like the 'Kurral', the 'Epic of the Anklet', and the 'Jewel-belt'. Madura, the Pandya capital, was the centre of a literary academy in the early centuries of the Christian era.

North-West India under Greek Rule :—The withdrawal of the strong arm of Asoka led to the collapse of the Maurya authority in Gandhara and the adjoining provinces. The local princes declared their independence. The Greeks, who now ruled in Syria and Bactria, were not slow to take advantage of Indian disunion. Antiochos the Great of Syria crossed the Hindukush about 206 B.C. and took away a number of elephants. His example was followed by his son-in-law Demetrios, prince of Bactria, who conquered a large portion of north-west India including the Punjab and Sind. A later king, Menander, established his authority at Sakala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab) and penetrated into the interior of India. He probably became a convert to Buddhism.

Demetrios.

Menander.



Coin of Menander

End of Greek rule.

The Greek power in India was soon overthrown by hordes of fierce tribes who came from Central Asia and Iran. The newcomers belonged to three main nationalities, viz., the Sakas, the Pahlavas or Parthians and the Yue-chi. The Sakas and the Yue-chi are sometimes referred to under the comprehensive designation of Scythians.

Saka Emperors.

The Sakas :—The centre of the Saka imperial power was in the north-west, where ruled the great king Maues or Moga and his successors Azes and Azilises. Viceroyalties (satrapies) were established at Taxila, Mathura, Ujjain, Broach and other places. The greatest of the Ujjain satraps was Rudradaman who ruled in the middle of the second century A.D., and extended his dominions from Sind to the Konkan. He was a patron of Sanskrit learning and contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Satavahanas. Of the satraps associated with Broach the most eminent was Nahapana. The power of this ruler was overthrown by Gautamiputra Satakarni. That of the dynasty of Rudradaman was shattered by Chandra Gupta II towards the close of the fourth century A.D.

Saka-satraps.

The Parthians :—The Parthians succeeded the Sakas as the ruling power of North-West India. The most famous of the Parthian kings was Gondophernes, whose name is associated in Christian tradition with that of Saint Thomas, one of the apostles of Jesus Christ.

Gondophernes.

The Kushan Conquest :—Parthian rule was overthrown by the Kushans, a section of the Yue-chi tribe of North-West China. Driven by a rival horde, the Yue-chi migrated westwards from their original home and ousted the Sakas from the Jaxartes Valley in Central Asia. They then moved into the Valley of the Oxus where they became a settled nation divided into five principalities. In th[illegible] century A.D. Kadphises I, the chief of the Ku[illegible]ion of the horde, established himself as sole monarch of the Yue-chi nation. He conquered Kabul and Gandhara and became master of a vast empire extending from the frontiers of Persia to the Jhelum. His son and successor, Wema, Vima or Kadphises II, conquered a large part of the interior of India probably as far as Benares and placed it under a military viceroy.

The Yue-chi Migration.

Kadphises I.

Kadphises II

Kanishka :—The greatest of the Kushan kings was Kanishka, who is usually regarded as a successor of Kadphises II. According to some scholars he founded the era of A.D. 78 which came to be known as the Saka *Samvat*. He completed the Kushan conquest of Upper India and ruled over a wide realm, which extended from the Kabul Valley and Kashmir to Benares. His capital was Purushapura or Peshawar, where he erected a great *chaitya* that excited the wonder of Chinese and Muslim travellers in later times. He defeated the kings of Pataliputra and Parthia and came into conflict with the Chinese empire. Hiuen Tsang, a Chinese pilgrim who visited India in the seventh century A.D., speaks of a Chinese prince detained as a hostage at his court. But the fame of this king rests not so much on his military conquests as on his patronage of Buddhism. He convoked the last great Buddhist Council and prepared authorised commentaries of the scriptures. He was a great patron of art and literature. He built many monasteries and stupas. His court was graced by Asvaghosha, Charaka and other great men who played a leading part in the literary, philosophical and scientific activities of the

Extent of Empire.

War with China.

Patronage of Buddhism

Art and Literature.



Kanishka

reign. Excavations near Mathura have disclosed a life-size statute of the great king.

Successors of Kanishka :—After Kanishka came Vasishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vasudeva. After the death of Vasudeva the Kushan empire gradually declined. Republican clans like the Yaudheyas and the Arjunayanas occupied parts of the Punjab and Rajputana. The Nagas established themselves at Mathura and in Central India. Some portion of the north-west borderland continued to acknowledge the feeble sway of the degenerate successors of the great Kanishka.

Decline of the Kushanas.

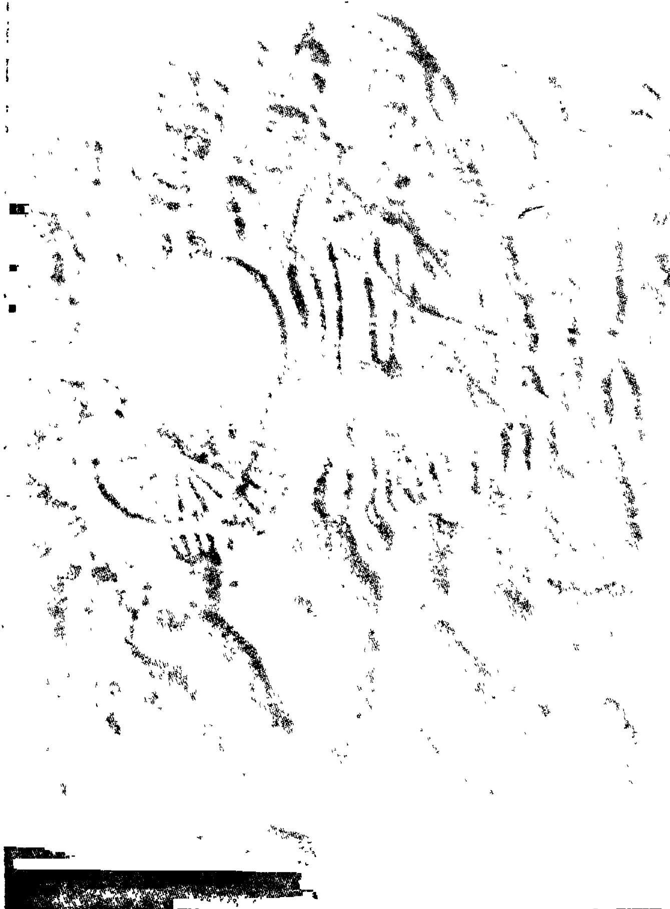
Hindu Civilisation during the Early Post-Mauryan and Scythian Periods :—The period after the fall of the Mauryas is regarded by some as "a barren wilderness without any interesting events or personalities". This is far from the truth. The age was one of great religious activity. China was converted to the religion of Sakyamuni, and a new form of Buddhism, styled the *Mahayana,* was developed by sages and philosophers like Nagarjuna. The period also saw a remarkable progress of the theistic movements within the fold of orthodox Hinduism. The cult of Siva made converts of some of the greatest of the Kushan kings, while the rival cult of the Bhagavatas (later called Vaishnavas) found favour with Greek statesmen like Heliodoros, ambassador of a king of Taxila. Christianity is said to have been introduced about this time by the apostle Saint Thomas.

Religious Activity.

In literature, science and philosophy, the period witnessed the composition of the *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali, the *Buddhacharita* of Asvaghosha, the *Brihatkatha* of Gunadhya, the medical works of Charaka and probably Susruta, the philosophical treatises of Nagarjuna, the famous "questions of Menander" entitled the

Literature and Science.

Milinda Panho and probably also the astronomical work of Garga, and the plays of Bhasa. There is reason to



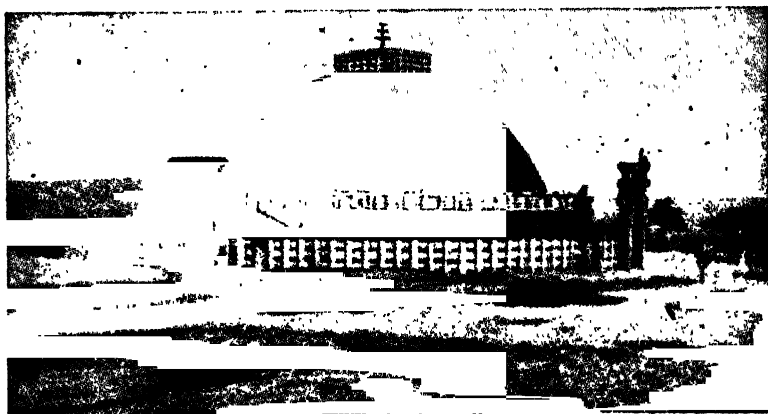
Surya (the Sungod), *Bhaja*

believe that the transformation of the two great epics of Ancient India, viz., the *Ramayana* and the *Maha-*

bharata, into our present compilations took place gradually during this period. The extant code of Manu has also been assigned to this age. Scythian princes vied with indigenous rulers in the patronage of Sanskrit learning.

Art and Architecture.

Art and architecture received a great impetus. Among the most interesting monuments of the age may be mentioned the rock-cut monastery at Bhaja near Poona, the Chaitya hall at Karle, the famous gateways of the great Stupa at Sanchi in the state of Bhopal and the stone railings at Bharhut in Central India and



Sanchi Stupa

at Amaravati in the Guntur district in the Madras Presidency. The sculptures and reliefs decorating these structures exhibit considerable artistic skill. The sculptures found near Peshawar in the ancient territory of Gandhara resemble in style the Graeco-Roman work of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Greek and Roman influence :—India's contact with foreign tribes, particularly in the north-west could not but be productive of important results. On the one

hand India captured her captors and many of the foreign rulers and statesmen of the borderland accepted Indian faiths ; on the other, foreign, and particularly Greek, influence made itself felt in the art of Gandhara and in several other fields. Garga refers to the homage paid by Indians to Greek astronomers and many Indian kings issued coins obviously imitated from those of the Greeks and Romans.

Trade and Colonisation :—The period under review was one of great maritime activity. Indian embassies visited the Roman and Chinese empires. Ships from Egypt used to call at the ports dotting the western seaboard of India ; and a Roman author complains that every year India took from Italy large sums of money in return for spices, perfumes and ornaments. The *Milinda Panho* alludes to traffic with China by sea ; and China silk finds prominent mention in the *Arthasastra,* which is assigned by some scholars to the early centuries of the Christian era. The finest muslin of the age was produced in lower Bengal and found eager customers in the Roman empire. The economic life of the people was regulated to a great extent by the trade and craft guilds (*srenis*), which find frequent mention in the inscriptions of the period. **Bengal muslin. Guilds.**

Colonisation was pushed on. Java must have been occupied before the middle of the second century A.D., for its Sanskrit name is mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy, who flourished at that time. Hindu kingdoms were established in Champa in what is now French Indo-China and some of the neighbouring islands in the Pacific Ocean. **Colonisation of Java and Champa.**

Eras :—The Scythian period saw the establishment of three of the great historical reckonings of India. These were the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., the Saka era of A.D. 78 and the Traikutaka era of A.D. 249. The foundation of the earliest of these reckonings is tradi-

Vikrama Era. tionally ascribed to king Vikramaditya of Ujjain. But no contemporary epigraphic or numismatic evidence for the existence of a Vikramaditya in the first century B.C. is forthcoming. Several modern writers, without sufficient reason, attribute the era to Gautamiputra Satakarni of the Deccan, to Azes, a Saka king of the borderland, and even to Kanishka. In the Gupta Period it was handed down traditionally by the Malava tribe. The association of the name of Vikrama with the reckoning came later. **Saka Era.** The Saka era undoubtedly marks the coronation of a Scythian king. But the identity of this ruler is unknown. According to some the king is Kanishka and according to others Kadphises II or some satrap of Western India. **Traikutaka Era.** As to the Traikutaka era, it arose in West Central India. The identity of its founder remains uncertain. But some think that it was Isvarasena, the Abhira king, who succeeded the Satavahanas in Maharashtra in the third century A.D.

CHAPTER IX

THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The Scythian Menace and the Rise of the Guptas :—The reaction against Greek inroads gave birth to the Maurya upheaval. A similar movement against Scythian domination apparently brought a new Magadhan dynasty to the forefront, viz., the Guptas, whose crowning achievement was the final overthrow of Saka rule in Western India.

Anti-Scythian movement.

Chandra Gupta :—The founder of the Gupta empire was Chandra Gupta I, a local chief at or near Pataliputra, who strengthened his position by marrying a Lichchhavi princess, named Kumaradevi. He extended his dominions along the Ganges Valley as far as Allahabad and Oudh and assumed the sovereign title of *Maharajadhiraja*. He is said to have founded the Gupta era in A.D. 320. He died apparently after a short reign, nominating as his successor Samudra Gupta, his son by Kumaradevi.

Lichchhavi Alliance.

Gupta Era.

Samudra Gupta:—The new king was the greatest of his dynasty. He completed the subjugation of the Gangetic provinces as far as the Jumna and the Chambal by forcibly uprooting the local Rajas, amongst whom Chandravarman and Ganapati Naga were the most important. He also led an expedition to Southern India and humbled many princes including Mahendra of South Kosala (Raipur-Sambalpur tract), Vyaghraraja "the Tiger King" of Mahakantara (the great forest country of Central India) and Vishnugopa, king of Kanchi. He did not annex the territories of these potentates but only exacted a temporary submission in the manner of a *Dharmavijayi* or righteous conqueror. The frontier kingdoms of Samatata (Eastern Bengal), Kamarupa (Assam) and Nepal as well as the republican

Campaigns in the North and the South.

Relations with the Scythian and the Ceylonese kingdoms.

clans of the Punjab, Rajputana and Malwa did him homage. His irresistible might was also felt by the Scythian kings of the north-west borderland as well as Meghavarna, ruler of Ceylon. The Ceylonese monarch was permitted to build a convent at Bodh Gaya.

Triumph of Brahmanism.

By his victories Samudra Gupta established an empire rivalling that of Asoka in power and splendour. But unlike Asoka he was a Brahmanical Hindu and crowned his military successes with the celebration of the horse sacrifice. The event is of great importance. It marks the final triumph of the forces of Brahmanism that had been struggling for ascendancy since the days of Pushyamitra Sunga. The supremacy of Brahmanism did not, however, mean oppression of the other sects, for the imperial Guptas were punctilious in their observance of the policy of toleration.

Toleration.



Samudra Gupta

Versatility of the king.

Samudra Gupta was a versatile genius. A great soldier and a conqueror, he was also a scholar, a poet, and a musician ; and some of his coins exhibit him in the act of playing the lute (*Vina*).

Chandra Gupta II. Vikramaditya (cir. 380—413 A.D.) :—There is a tradition that Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Rama Gupta, who was ousted by his brother Chandra Gupta II. But contemporary accounts represent Chandra Gupta as the nominee and immediate successor of his father. The new monarch allied himself with the powerful *Vakatuka*

GUPTA EMPIRE

GANDHARA
NEPAL
KAMARUPA
SAMATATA
MAHA KOSALA
VAKATAKAS
Mahanadi
VENGI
KADAMBAS
PALLAVAS
Kanchi
KERALA
CHOLA
PANDYA
SIMHALA

Destruction of the Saka power.

ruler of Berar, and annexed Malwa and Surashtra (Kathiawar) after destroying the power of the Saka satraps. The coins of this king bear the legend Vikramaditya ("Sun of valour"), and he is apparently described as "the lord of Patali and Ujjayini, the best of towns" in several inscriptions of Karnata in South India. These facts support his identification with the traditional Vikramaditya Sakari ("destroyer of the Sakas") of Ujjain whose court was adorned by the nine "gems" including Kalidasa. It is, however, doubtful if all the nine "gems" flourished at one and the same time. But if the tradition recorded by Mallinatha, the commentator, is to be believed, Kalidasa at any rate flourished about this time, for he is described as a contemporary of Dignaga, apparently the famous Buddhist logician of the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Identity with Vikramaditya.



Chandra Gupta II

Fa-Hien :—A flood of light is thrown on the state of the country in the days of Chandra Gupta II by Fa-Hien, a Chinese pilgrim, who paid a visit to India during the reign of that emperor. The pilgrim was deeply impressed with the sight of Asoka's palace at Pataliputra and the free hospitals of Magadha. The people were rich and prosperous, and charitable institutions were numerous. The government was mild, and the people were not troubled by harsh laws. The revenue was mainly derived from crown lands. The royal officers had fixed salaries, and order was well

Good Government.

maintained. Tamralipti (modern Tamluk) was an important seaport, and ships sailed from it to the island of Java, which was a centre of Brahmanism. **Tamralipti.**

Kumara Gupta I (c. 414—455) :—Chandra Gupta II was succeeded by his son Kumara Gupta I Mahendraditya, who retained his father's empire and even performed a horse sacrifice. But the last days of the king were darkened by a calamity that shook the empire to its foundations. A formidable people known as the Pushyamitras seriously threatened the stability of the Gupta dynasty. The fallen fortunes of the imperial family were restored with great difficulty by the Crown Prince Skanda Gupta. **Pushyamitras.**

Skanda Gupta (455—c. 467) :—The victorious prince succeeded his father in A.D. 455. But he had soon to face an enemy more terrible than the Pushyamitras. A ferocious people called the Huns swooped down on the north-west provinces of the empire. Their first attacks were repelled and officers were appointed by the Emperor to guard the vulnerable frontiers. The victory over the barbarians entitled Skanda Gupta to assume, like his grandfather, the title of Vikramaditya ; and the memory of his exploits is preserved in the story of King Vikramaditya, son of Mahendraditya, in the *Katha-Sarit-Sagara.* **Hun invasions.**

Successors of Skanda Gupta :—Skanda Gupta died about A.D. 467-68. His immediate successors, Pura Gupta, Narasimha Gupta Baladitya and Kumara Gupta II, had short reigns. Then came Budha Gupta who ruled from Bengal to Malwa for a period of about twenty years (A.D. 477?—96). He was followed by princes who continued to rule till the eighth century. But the survival of the dynasty did not mean the continuance of the empire in its pristine glory. The Huns renewed their incursions and firmly established their power in the Punjab and Central India. The **Later Guptas.**

viceregal families of Bengal, Kanauj, Malwa and Valabhi in Kathiawar gradually assumed independence.



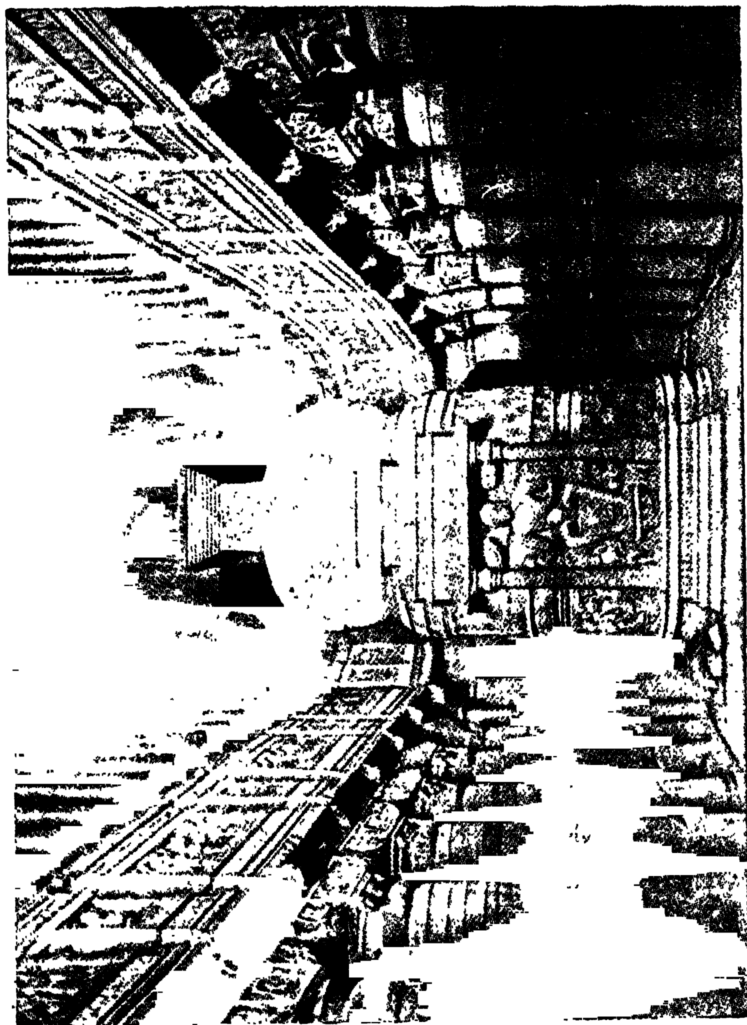
Mother and Child—Ajanta

Culture of the Gupta Age:—The age of the imperial Guptas is frequently described as one of Brahmanic renovation and of Sanskritic renaissance. But the cultivation of Sanskrit at the courts of Kanishka, and many other Scythian rulers, shows that there is no preceding lack of continuity in the development of Sanskrit culture. As pointed out by Coomaraswamy, "the period of the Guptas is one of culmination, of florescence, rather than of renaissance". In literature the fame of Asvaghosha and Bhasa was outshone by that of Kalidasa. Two poets — Harishena and Virasena,—

Intellectual Activity.

Kalidasa.

who adorned the courts of Samudra Gupta and his son respectively, wrote eulogies of their imperial patrons in a style rivalling that of Kalidasa. The dramatists



Chaitya Hall—Ajanta

Sudraka, the reputed author of the *Mrichchhakatika*, and Visakhadatta, the author of the *Mudra Rakshasa* are sometimes assigned to this period. In astronomy Aryabhata of Pataliputra and Varahamihira of Malwa produced works that cast into the shade all earlier treatises on the subject. The compilation of the ancient epics was brought to completion. And the *Puranic* and *Smriti* literature obtained important additions and accretions. The fine arts, including music, architecture, sculpture and painting, were cultivated with great success. The frescoes at Ajanta are among the most splendid achievements of the period. The metallurgical skill of the age is shown in the famous Iron Pillar of King Chandra at Delhi.

Art.

BOOK III

TRANSITION TO MEDIEVAL INDIA

CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE HUNS AND THE RISE OF KANAUJ

The Huns:—The fierce barbarians who shattered the Gupta empire towards the close of the fifth century A.D. issued from the steppes of Central Asia in two main streams—one passing towards the Oxus Valley and the other to Europe. The latter attacked the Roman empire under the famous Attila, while the former, known as Ephthalites or White Huns, overwhelmed the kingdom of Gandhara and invaded the Gupta empire. They were at first beaten off by Skanda Gupta but soon renewed their activities under an able leader named Toramana. Toramana and his son Mihiragula firmly established the Hun power in the Punjab and Eastern Malwa, and the latter fixed his capital at Sakala, modern Sialkot, in the Punjab. The Hindu princes now made a bold attempt to shake off the oppressive yoke of the barbarians. Baladitya, a Gupta king of Magadha, and Yasodharman, a tribal ruler of Mandasor, inflicted severe defeats on Mihiragula.

Toramana and Mihiragula.

Yasodharman:—The chief of Mandasor claims to have brought under his sway lands that even the Guptas and the Huns could not subdue, and to have been master of the extensive region stretching from the Himalayas to the Eastern Ghats and from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean. He has been indentified by some modern writers with Vikramaditya of Ujjain. There is, however, no evidence that he actually assumed the title of Vikramaditya, and the

city with which his name is associated is Dasapura (modern Mandasor) and not Ujjain.

The Maukharis and the Later Guptas :—The Huns, though beaten, were not crushed. They became a source of constant trouble to the Indian princes till the days of Karna, King of Chedi. The chief interest of the history of the sixth century A.D. centres round the wars waged against the intruders by indigenous rulers. Among the Indian princes who distinguished themselves in the fight with these barbarians in the latter half of the sixth century A.D., the Maukharis and the rulers of Thanesar stand pre-eminent. The Maukharis rose to greatness in the present United Provinces, under Isanavarman. He had to engage in a bitter conflict with Kumara Gupta of the line of the "later Guptas", who had come into power some time after the death of Budha Guta. Notwithstanding the hostility of the "later Guptas", the power of the Maukharis continued to increase. "They threw aloft in battle the troops of the Huns", and Damodara Gupta, the son and successor of Kumara Gupta, perished in an attempt to break up the mighty array of their elephants. Mahasena Gupta, the son of Damodara, apparently left them alone and turned his attention towards the Brahmaputra. The Maukhari power now extended from the Doab and Oudh to Magadha, and, in the opinion of some scholars, had its principal seat in the city of Kanauj. Grahavarman, the last notable king of the line, sought to strengthen his position by marrying the daughter of Prabhakara-vardhana, king of Thanesar. But he was killed by a king of Malwa and his wife Rajyasri imprisoned at Kanauj.

Isana-varman.

Mahasena Gupta.

Graha-varman.

The House of Thanesar:—Prabhakara-vardhana, father-in-law of Grahavarman, belonged to the family of Pushyabhuti which had been ruling for a long time over a small district in the Eastern Punjab with

Prabha-kara-vardhana.

Thanesar for its capital. Like Baladitya, Yasodharman and the Maukharis, Prabhakara-vardhana took a prominent part in the fight against the Huns. The struggle was continued by his eldest son and successor, Rajya-vardhana who, at the same time, avenged the death of his brother-in-law Grahavarman by inflicting a severe defeat on the Gupta king of Malwa. Unfortunately he was assassinated by Sasanka, king of Gauda or Karnasuvarna in Western Bengal

Rajya-vardhana.

Sasanka, King of Bengal.

Harsha Siladitya:—The death of Grahavarman and the assassination of Rajya-vardhana rendered vacant the throne of the Maukharis as well as that of the Pushybhutis of Thanesar. The ministers invited Harsha, brother of Rajya-vardhana and of Rajyasri, the widowed queen of the Maukharis, to undertake the responsibility of the royal office. Harsha probably took charge of both the kingdoms in A.D. 606, from which year dates the Harsha era. But he abstained at first from assuming the royal title.

Harsha Era.

One of his earliest acts was the rescue of his sister Rajyasri. He made an alliance with Bhaskara-varman, King of Kamarupa, to curb the growing power of Sasanka, the murderer of his brother. But the ruler of Gauda succeeded in maintaining his independence and authority till A.D. 619. He died sometime before 637 and his kingdom was eventually overthrown by Harsha's eastern ally. Harsha is said to have carried his arms from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas. He even tried to cross the Narmada but was repulsed by Pulakesin II, the powerful Chalukya King of the Deccan. He was more successful in the west where he defeated Dhruvasena of Valabhi in Kathiawar. In 641, after Sasanka had passed away, he assumed the title of "King of Magadha", and sent an embassy to China. Two years later he led an expedition to Ganjam. The empire over which he exercised direct sway stretched from the

Bhaskara-varman. War with Sasanka.

War with the Chalukyas. Campaigns in Western and Eastern India.

Extent of Empire.

eastern Punjab to Bihar and Orissa. His superiority was acknowledged by the prince of Valabhi in the west and the king of Kamarupa in the east. Even his enemies—the Chalukyas—testify to his unquestioned supremacy over the whole of *Uttarapatha* (Northern India).

Patronage of Literature.

Like the most eminent of his Gupta predecessors Harsha was not only a great warrior, but also a scholar and a patron of learning. He is the reputed author of the *Ratnavali* and other plays, and his court was graced by Bana, the author of the *Kadambari* and the *Harshacharita*.

Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) :—Though officially a Saiva, Harsha was a tolerant king and showed a strong predilection for Buddhism in his later years. He had many Buddhist friends. The most eminent among them was Hiuen Tsang, a Chinese pilgrim, who stayed in India from 630 to 644, and left an interesting record of the country and its institutions. He found Patali-

Nalanda.

putra in ruins. But Nalanda (Bargaon), to the south of the old imperial city, was the seat of a great university. Thousands of scholars flocked to this famous centre of learning from the most distant parts of Asia ; and the scholars of the institution were looked

Kanauj and its King.

up to as models by all India. Kanauj, the new imperial capital and the residence of Harsha, was a stately city, very strongly fortified. The pilgrim refers to the prowess of Harsha as well as to his benevolence. He speaks of the six years' war in the course of which the king fought the "Five Indies". He mentions the measures Harsha took to discourage the taking of life and the use of animal food, and promote the welfare of Buddhist institutions. He refers to the king's tour of inspection throughout his dominions, his arrangements for the comfort of travellers and hospitality to all irrespective of their creed. The rule of Harsha was,

however, not as efficient as that of the Guptas ; and the pilgrim had to suffer from brigands on more than one occasion.

Assemblies at Kanauj and Prayaga.

Hiuen Tsang refers to a grand assembly that was held at the imperial capital. The objects that impressed him most were a great shrine containing a golden image of the Buddha, a smaller image that was carried daily in procession, escorted by twenty princes, and gatherings of learned men to hold disputations on religious subjects.

When the functions at Kanauj were over, Harsha took his Chinese friend to Prayaga (Allahabad) to witness the great periodical distribution of religious gifts at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. Having shown honour to the Buddha, the Sun and Siva, the emperor bestowed alms on all alike without any distinction of caste or creed. When everything had been given away Harsha put on an ordinary garment and paid homage to the "Buddhas of the ten regions".

CHAPTER XI

THE SCRAMBLE FOR KANAUJ AND THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PRATIHARA (RAJPUT) EMPIRE

Mahodaya-Sri:—The tradition of empire attached itself to Kanauj from the days of Harsha to the Muslim conquest. Rulers of the most distant corners of India counted it their proudest boast to have captured *Mahodaya-Sri,* i.e. the regal splendour of Kanauj. Bitter contests ensued for the possession of the imperial city. The struggle led to the establishment of Rajput ascendancy under the dynasty of the Pratiharas.

Harsha left no successor capable and strong enough to maintain the integrity of his empire. Adityasena of the "later Gupta" dynasty of Magadha and Dharasena IV of Valabhi declared their independence, and the former even performed the horse sacrifice. A Chinese official raided the imperial dominions and carried off a minister who had usurped the throne of Harsha.

Yasovarman:—In the first half of the eighth century A.D. a prince named Yasovarman revived the empire of Kanauj and distinguished himself by a successful expedition against the king of Gauda (West Bengal) and Magadha (South Bihar). He established diplomatic relations with China (A.D. 731) and maintained a splendid court which was adorned by the poets

Bhavabhuti. Bhavabhuti and Vakpatiraj. But his career was cut short by a king of Kashmir.

Kashmir :—The kingdom of Kashmir had risen to greatness under a chief named Durlabha-vardhana, a

Lalitaditya. contemporary of the great Harsha. Lalitaditya, grandson of Durlabha-vardhana, was an aggressive monarch

who won distinction by victorious campaigns against the Tukharas of the north and the Bhauttas of Tibet. He built the splendid temple of Martanda. But his greatest achievement was the destruction of the power of Yasovarman. Jayapida Vinayaditya, a grandson of Lalitaditya, emulated the exploits of his great ancestor by another campaign against Kanauj. In 855 the Karkota family, to which Lalitaditya and Vinayaditya belonged, was supplanted by a new line, the Utpala. Avantivarman, the founder of the dynasty, was a man of peace. But his successor, Samkaravarman, once more came into conflict with the empire of Kanauj, then under Bhoja I. In the latter half of the tenth century the throne was occupied by a queen named Didda. **Queen Didda.** After her death the sceptre passed into the hands of the Lohara dynasty. But the later rulers of Kashmir were not strong enough to renew the Kanauj venture of their great predecessors.

Bengal and the Pala Empire:—Meanwhile a new power had risen in Eastern India, which for a time claimed the unquestioned allegiance of the kingdom of Kanauj. This was Bengal. The people of that country came into prominence in the fourth century A.D. when they possibly headed a revolt against king "Chandra" of the Iron Pillar at Delhi. In the sixth century they came into conflict with Isanavarman Maukhari. In the century that followed, Sasanka, **Sasanka.** king of Western Bengal, carried his arms to Kanauj. But his career of conquest was checked by Harsha and his ally, the king of Kamarupa. During the eighth century A.D. Bengal was repeatedly overrun by the kings of neighbouring territories and a state of anarchy (*matsyanyaya*) prevailed in the country. At last the people offered the crown to a chief named Gopala, who **Rise of the Palas.** brought peace to the distracted land.

Dharmapala.

Dharmapala, the son of Gopala, established a stronghold at Pataliputra and sought once more to gain for Eastern India the position it had occupied under the Mauryas and the Guptas. He defeated Indrayudha or Indraraj, King of Kanauj, some time after 783, and set up, at the imperial city, a subservient ruler, whose name was Chakrayudha. Some records credit him with having subjugated the whole country from Kedara in the Himalayan region to Gokarna in Southern India. He had, however, formidable rivals in Dhruva and Govinda III, the Rashtrakuta emperors of the Deccan, and Nagabhata II, the Gurjara-Pratihara king of Marwar. The former claim to have expelled him from the Doab, while the latter defeated him, deposed his *protégé*, Chakrayudha, and took Kanauj.

The Tripartite struggle.

Devapala.

Devapala, the son and successor of Dharmapala, sought to retrieve the disasters of his father's reign and established a fortress at Monghyr. He claims to have conquered Assam and Orissa and humbled the power of his Dravidian and Gurjara rivals. One record says that his arms reached the Kamboja country in the North and the Vindhya Hills in the South. He maintained relations with distant countries. A king of Suvarnadvipa or Sumatra erected a monastery at Nalanda during his reign, and an inhabitant of Nagarahara (Jelalabad) received an important appointment in the same city.

Decline of the Pala Empire.

Vigrahapala I, the nephew and successor of Devapala, was a weak ruler, who abdicated in favour of his son Narayanapala. Meanwhile the Pratiharas, under Nagabhata II and Bhoja I, firmly established their power at Kanauj and defeated the army of Bengal probably at the Battles of Monghyr. Mahendrapala, the son of Bhoja, seems to have wrested even North Bengal from the Palas. Shortly afterwards, the Pala power was swept away by a people called the Kambojas. The

fortunes of the family were restored by Mahipala I. But the Palas never again succeeded in carrying their arms to Kanauj. **Its Restoration.**

The Pratihara Empire:—We have seen that the Pala hegemony over Kanauj was short-lived. The dreams of Dharmapala and his successors were rudely shattered by the Pratiharas under Nagabhata II and Bhoja I who eventually established himself firmly in the old metropolis of Harsha. The Pratiharas were Rajputs claiming descent from Lakshmana, brother of Rama, the hero of Valmiki's epic. In all probability they sprang from the Gurjara race which, in the opinion of several scholars, entered India in the train of the Huns. The designation of the people survives in the modern Gujar caste and also in several place-names in the Punjab and Western India. In the sixth century the Gurjaras established principalities at Bhinmal in Rajputana and Broach at the mouth of the Narmada. In the eighth century Nagabhata I, belonging to the Pratihara section of the race, founded a powerful kingdom in Marwar or Malwa and carried on a successful war against the Arab conquerors who had wrested Sind from the hands of king Dahir. His third successor Vatsaraja (A.D. 783) defeated the king of Bengal. The next king Nagabhata II (c. 815-33), son of Vatsaraja, defeated Dharmapala and his vassal Chakrayudha and made himself master of Kanauj. But he was vanquished by Govinda III, Rashtrakuta. Bhoja I (836—cir. 893) restored the fortunes of his family and ruled over an extensive empire stretching from the Eastern Punjab to the borders of Bengal. His further progress was stopped by Samkaravarman of Kashmir in the north and by the Rashtrakutas in the south. The reign of Mahendrapala I (circa 893—907), son of Bhoja, may be regarded as marking the climax of power attained by the

Ancestry of the Pratiharas.

Rise of the Pratiharas.

Bhoja I.

Mahendrapala I.

imperial Pratiharas. The empire at this time extended from Kathiawar in the west to North Bengal in the east. The destruction of Valabhi by the Arabs had facilitated its expansion in the west and the temporary eclipse of the Pala power by the Kambojas soon removed a formidable rival in the east. The Court of Mahendrapala was adorned by Rajasekhara, the author of the *Karpuramanjari* and other works. Mahipala I, son of Mahendrapala, maintained, during the early years of his reign, his father's empire including the western provinces. But a severe blow was struck at his power by Indra III, Rashtrakuta. The empire fast crumbled to pieces. The Palas recovered Magadha and Tirhut. Most of the other Provinces were parcelled out among a number of Rajput dynasties. The Chandellas became supreme in the territory between the Jumna and the Narmada. The Kachchhapaghatas took Gwalior. The Paramaras seized Malwa. The Chedis of Tripuri made themselves masters of Prayaga (Allahabad). The Chaulukyas or Solankis established their independence in Gujarat. A new power—that of the Brahmana Shahis of Udabhanda or Ohind (Und) on the Indus—rose in the north-west. Kanauj itself was taken by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna or Ghazni in 1018. Shortly afterwards, Rajyapala, the last notable Pratihara king of Kanauj, was slain.

Mahipala I, Pratihara.

Decline of the Pratiharas.

Shahis of Und.

Importance of the Pratihara Dynasty :—The Pratiharas were the last great Hindu Imperial dynasty of Northern India. They patronised literature and maintained order. Referring to their empire, an Arab traveller wrote that there was no country in India safer from robbers. They maintained a formidable cavalry and camel corps and formed a bulwark against Arab aggression. The Pratiharas ranked as Rajputs and their rule marks the beginning of Rajput ascendancy—an ascendancy that was challenged first by the

Palas and the Rashtrakutas and afterwards by the Muslim conquerors of the Indus Valley. Thus began the epic struggle between the Rajputs and the Muslims, which continued till the days of the Timurid Emperors.

CHAPTER XII

THE DECCAN IN THE DAYS OF KANAUJ ASCENDANCY

Rivalry of the Empires of Kanauj and the Deccan :—The empire of Kanauj had to contend with rivals on all sides. The most formidable of these was at first the empire of the Deccan ruled successively by the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas.

The Chalukyas of Vatapi :—The Chalukya power was established in or about A.D. 550 by Pulakesin I, who fixed his capital at Vatapi (modern Badami in the Bijapur district), and performed the horse sacrifice. His sons Kirtivarman I and Mangalesa extended the kingdom in all directions. The next king Pulakesin II, son of Kirtivarman I, ruled from c. 609 to 642, and was the most powerful king of his line. He defeated Harsha of Kanauj, annexed part of the country at the mouth of the Krishna and the Godavari, and vanquished Mahendravarman, king of Kanchi. According to some writers, he interchanged letters and presents with the king of Persia. But this is doubtful. Hiuen Tsang visited his dominions about 641 and has left a vivid account of the prowess of the king and the valour of his people. The reign of Pulakesin II, however, ended in disaster. He was defeated and killed by Narasimhavarman Pallava, son of Mahendravarman, in or about 642.

Pulakesin II.

The Pallavas of Kanchi :—For a period of thirteen years (642—55) the Chalukya power was in abeyance and the Pallavas of Kanchi became the dominant power in Southern India. Narasimhavarman,

Narasimha.

the conqueror of Pulakesin II, carried his arms from Vatapi in the North to the Pandya country in the Far South. His authority extended even to the island of Ceylon. He was a great builder and constructed some of the famous temples of Mamallapuram. His father Mahendravarman is the reputed author of the *Mattavilasa Prahasana,* one of the few farces in Sanskrit literature.

The Chalukya Revival :—After Narasimha the Pallava power declined. The Chalukyas revived under Vikramaditya I, who probably took Kanchi. His great-grandson, Vikramaditya II, again took the Pallava capital ; and one of his feudatories repulsed an invasion of the *Tajikas,* probably identical with the Arabs of Sind. In 753 the Chalukya Empire of Vatapi was finally overthrown by the Rashtrakutas.

Arabs repulsed.

The Rashtrakutas :—The founder of the Rashtrakuta power was Dantidurga (A.D. 753-54). His successor was his uncle Krishna I, who executed the famous Kailasa temple at Ellora. Dhruva, son of Krishna, defeated Vatsaraja of the Pratihara dynasty. Govinda III (794—c. 815), son and successor of Dhruva, was the greatest of his house. He made his brother Governor of Lata (South Gujarat), defeated Nagabhata II, son of Vatsaraja, received the submission of Dharmapala of Bengal and his *protégé* Chakrayudha and exacted tribute from Dantivarman, the Pallava king of Kanchi.

Krishna I.

Govinda III.

Amoghavarsha I (c. 815—77), son and successor of Govinda III, removed his capital probably from Nasik to Manyakheta (modern Malkhed in the Nizam's dominions). He was a patron of Jainism and himself composed a Jaina work. Indra III (c. 914—16), great-grandson of Amoghavarsha, took Kanauj from Mahipala I Pratihara and dealt a heavy blow at his

Amoghavarsha I.

empire. His nephew Krishna III defeated the Cholas. The dynasty was overthrown in 973 by Taila II, the founder of the later Chalukya line of Kalyana.

"Balhara". The pre-eminence of the Rashtrakutas among Indian kings is testified to by contemporary Arab writers, who refer to the Balhara (Vallabharaja or beloved prince) of Mankir, i.e. the Rashtrakuta ruler of Manyakheta, as one of the four great sovereigns of the world, the other three being the Emperor of China, the Khalifah of Bagdad and the Emperor of Constantinople.

CHAPTER XIII

FALL OF THE OLD HINDU KINGDOMS IN NORTHERN INDIA

The Pratihara Disruption :—The Rashtrakuta empire in the south fell in 973, and the city of Kanauj in the north, once the proud capital of Harsha and Bhoja I, was seized by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1018. From this time to the battle of Tarain in 1192 there was really no paramount power in Northern India comparable to the Pratiharas. The whole country was divided into numerous kingdoms, almost all of which fell before the onslaught of Muslim invaders in the twelfth and succeeding centuries. The most important of these kingdoms were (1) the Pala and Sena kingdoms of Bengal, (2) the Chandella kingdom of Jejakabhukti or Bundelkhand, (3) the Chedi kingdom of Dahala or the district round Jabbalpur, (4) the Paramara kingdom of Malwa, (5) the Chaulukya and Vaghela kingdom of Gujarat, (6) the Gahadavala kingdom of Kanauj and Benares, and (7) the Tomara and Chahamana kingdoms of the Eastern Punjab, Delhi and Ajmer.

The Later Pala Kings of Bengal :—We have seen how the Pala empire was swept away towards the close of the tenth century by the Kambojas but was restored by Mahipala I. During the reign of this king **Mahipala I.** North Bihar probably fell into the hands of Gangeya-deva. But Mahipala repulsed an attack of Rajendra Chola I and is credited with having extended his conquests as far as Benares. The revived monarchy had, however, no elements of strength, and seems to have been a confederation of feudatory or vassal states. The

Sura Dynasty.

most important of these principalities were the Sura kingdom of South-West Bengal and the Chandra kingdom of East Bengal. Both these dynasties are famous in the traditional history of Bengal. But the stories about the famous King Adisura of the Sura family do not find corroboration in contemporary records.

Successors of Mahipala I.

The successor of Mahipala I was Nayapala. During his reign the Pala dominions were invaded by Karna, son of Gangeya, King of the Chedis ; but a peace was arranged by Atisa or Dipankara Srijnana. Vigrahapala III, son of Nayapala, married a daughter of Karna. In the time of Mahipala II, son of Vigrahapala III, there was an outbreak in North Bengal led by the Kaivarta chief Divya or Divvoka. The Pala power was destroyed for the second time, but was revived by Ramapala, a younger brother of Mahipala II. Ramapala was followed by two sons and a grandson. The power of his dynasty was finally broken in Bengal by Vijayasena. It probably survived in Bihar till the Muslim conquest.

Importance of the Pala Dynasty :—The Pala kings ruled for an unusually long period ; and under them Bengal became one of the greatest powers of India. One king seized the sovereignty of Mahodaya (Kanauj) and another had diplomatic relations with the distant king of Sumatra. The Palas were great builders and established the famous monasteries of Uddandapur (Bihar) and Vikramasila. Though Buddhists, they were tolerant towards Brahmanism and employed Brahmana ministers. Like many of the most enlightened Hindu emperors of old they patronised art, science and literature. Chakrapani, the eminent authority on medicine, and Sandhyakara, the author of the *Ramacharita,* flourished during the Pala period. A new school of art was developed in Bengal. The spread of Buddhism in Tibet was mainly due to missionaries, who enjoyed the patronage of the Pala kings.

Relations with Sumatra.

Culture.

The Senas :—Vijayasena, the destroyer of Pala sovereignty in Bengal, was the founder of a new line of kings, viz., the Senas, who professed the Brahmanical religion. The family originally came from the Kanarese country in South India and prospered in Western Bengal under a chief named Samanta Sena. Vijayasena, grandson of Samantasena, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Suras and made a bold bid for supreme power in Bengal. He defeated the Pala king of Gauda and the neighbouring rulers of Tirhut, Kamarupa and Kalinga, and founded the city of Vijayapura, which became his capital. His son and successor Ballalasena, born of a Sura princess, is well known as the founder of Kulinism and the reputed author of the *Danasagara* and the *Adbhutasagara*. Ballalasena was succeeded by his son Lakshmanasena who is regarded by some as the founder of the Lakshmana Samvat of A.D. 1119. He defeated the king of Benares, doubtless identical with the Gahadavala king of Kanauj, subjugated Kamarupa and planted a pillar of victory on the shores of the southern ocean. He was a patron of eminent poets and pundits like Jayadeva, Umapati and Dhoyi. Towards the close of the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century, Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad, son of Bakhtyar, attacked Nadia and put to flight Rae Lakhmaniya (Lakshmanasena). The loss of Nadia, however, did not mean the extinction of the Sena dynasty, which continued to rule in Eastern Bengal down to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Vijayasena.

Ballalasena.

Lakshmanasena.

Jayadeva.

Muslim Inroad.

The Chandellas of Jejakabhukti :—The Chandellas of Jejakabhukti or Bundelkhand were one of the great ruling families that rose on the ruins of the Pratihara empire. The principal centres of their power were the cities of Mahoba and Khajuraho and the celebrated fortress of Kalinjara.

The founder of the Chandella family was Nannuka. But the dynasty rose to distinction under Yasovarman, who captured the fort of Kalinjara and became a "scorching fire" to his Gurjara-Pratihara overlords. Dhanga (c. 954-98), son of Yasovarman, claimed to have snatched away the imperial dignity from the king of Kanauj and brought under his sway an extensive region between the Jumna and the Narmada.

Khajuraho Temples. War with the Kings of Ghazni.

He built great temples at Khajuraho. Dhanga and his successor are represented by some as sharing in the Hindu defeat at the hands of Subuktigin and his son Mahmud of Ghazni. The next king, Vidyadhara, brought about the destruction of Rajyapala, the last notable Pratihara ruler of Kanauj. Under the successors of Vidyadhara the Chandella kingdom was weak and was eclipsed by the rising power of the Chedis under Gangeyadeva and his son Karna. But

Kirti-varman.

the glory of the family was restored by Kirtivarman (c. 1098), a grandson of Vidyadhara. Kirtivarman is chiefly remembered as the patron of Krishnamisra, the author of the allegorical play called *Prabodha-chandrodaya*, or the Rise of the Moon of the Intellect. The last notable king was Paramardideva, fifth in descent from Kirtivarman. He was defeated by Prithviraja III, King of Ajmer and Delhi, and was finally crushed in 1202 by Qutb-ud-din Aibak, general of Muizz-ud-din Muhammad of Ghur, the conqueror of Hindusthan.

The Chedis of Dahala :—The Chedis, also known as Haihayas and Kalachuris, rose to power in the country called Dahala, the capital of which was at Tripuri (modern Tewar near Jabbalpur). A branch of the family established itself at Ratanpura in the modern Bilaspur district. The founder of the Chedi line was Kokkalla I, a contemporary and ally of Bhoja of Kanauj. The Chedi princes were intimately connected by ties

of marriage with the Rashtrakutas. Lakshmanaraja, great-grandson of Kokkalla I, carried his arms from Somnath to Bengal. His great-grandson, Gangeyadeva, assumed the title of Vikramaditya and spread his conquests as far as Tirhut in the north and the Kanarese country in the south. His son Karna (c. 1040-70) ruled over an empire that extended from Kanauj to Kalinga. He defeated the Paramaras of Malwa and secured the alliance of the kings of Bengal by the offer of two of his daughters in marriage. His power was broken by the armed forces of the kings of Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand and the Deccan. The next king Yasahkarna (c. 1070-1120-22) still ruled over a wide realm stretching from Champaran in North Bihar to the banks of the Godavari. After him the kingdom became weak and was destroyed by the Yadava king Krishna of Devagiri in the Deccan.

Gangeya and Karna.

The Paramaras of Malwa:—The Paramara family was established by Upendra or Krishnaraja, and, in its palmy days, had its capital at Dhara. It rose to distinction under Munja. This king was a brave warrior and a patron of learning. But his career was cut short by Taila II, the founder of the Western Chalukya dynasty of Kalyana in the Deccan. His successor Sindhuraja is the hero of the *Navasahasanka Charita.* Bhoja (c. 1018—55), son of Sindhuraja, was the most famous king of the line. He fought with Turkish invaders and annexed the Konkan, but finally succumbed to his foes, Somesvara Ahavamalla, king of Kalyana, Karna, king of the Chedis and Bhima I, king of Gujarat, who stormed Dhara. Bhoja was the greatest patron of learning in ancient India after the great Vikramaditya, the destroyer of the Sakas. He was a versatile genius; and the range of his studies included poetry, rhetoric, poetics, polity, philosophy, astronomy and architecture. He established

Munja.

Bhoja of Dhara.

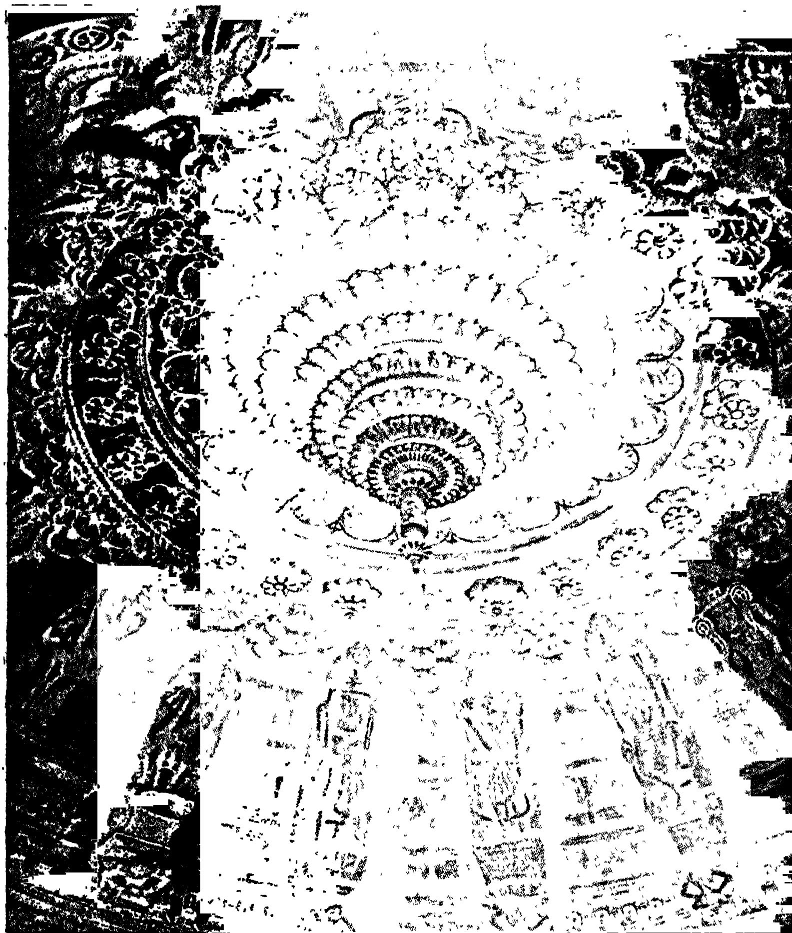
a Sanskrit College and constructed the famous Bhojapura Lake. After Bhoja Malwa was constantly overrun by its enemies and was for a time annexed to the kingdom of Gujarat. In the thirteenth century it was overrun by Sultan Iltutmish of Delhi. The kingdom was finally conquered by the Muslims in the next century.

The Chaulukyas and Vaghelas of Gujarat:—Part of Gujarat was governed by Pratihara viceroys in the days of Mahendrapala I and his son Mahipala I. In the latter half of the tenth century an independent kingdom was established by Mularaja I of the Chaulukya or Solanki family, who fixed his residence at Anahilapataka or Anhilwara, modern Patan in north Gujarat. Mularaja defeated many of his neighbours including Vigraharaja II of Sakambhari in Rajputana. Bhima I, great-grandson of Mularaja, fought with varying success against Hammuka of Sind, Karna of Chedi and Bhoja of Dhara. But his most formidable antagonist was Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who destroyed the temple of Somnath in A.D. 1026. Siddharaja Jayasimha, grandson of Bhima I, founded an era in 1113-14 A.D. and annexed Malwa. His successor Kumarapala (1143—74) ruled over a wide dominion stretching from the borders of the Muslim kingdom in the Punjab to the Konkan and from the Ganges and Bhilsa to the western ocean. He probably adopted the Jaina faith under the influence of the celebrated *acharya*, Hemachandra. The next notable king, Mularaja II, grandson of a brother of Kumarapala, beat back a Muslim invasion. His brother Bhima II, "the simpleton", ruled from 1179 to 1242. During his rule the central government became weak. The feudatories became powerful and divided the kingdom among themselves. The actual power at the centre was usurped by Lavanaprasada, who belonged to the Vaghela branch of the royal family.

Destruction of Somanath

Patronage of Jainism.

Muslim inroad repulsed.



Tejahpala's temple, Dilwara—Mount Abu

Jaina temples.

Viradhavala, the son of Lavanaprasáda, is said to have defeated Muizz-ud-din (Bahram?), who led an expedition to Gujarat. Two ministers of this Chief, Vastupala and Tejahpala, built magnificent Jaina temples

at Satrunjaya, Girnar and Abu. Visaladeva, son of Viradhavala, assumed the full royal title. His nephew and successor, Arjuna, had the toleration to allow the grant of certain income from houses and shops in Somnath to a mosque built by a Muslim ship-owner of Ormuz. Under Karnadeva II, grandson of Arjuna, Gujarat was conquered by the lieutenants of Alauddin Khalji, Sultan of Delhi.

Muslim conquest.

The Gahadavalas of Kanauj :—Pratihara authority in Kanauj collapsed in 1018, though petty chiefs of the line continued to rule certainly till 1027 and probably till 1036. After the temporary rule of Karna Chedi, about the middle of the eleventh century, Kanauj passed into the hands of the Rashtrakutas and the Gahadavalas, whom some authorities regard as identical.

Govinda-chandra.

The founder of the Gahadavala line was Chandradeva. The greatest king was Govinda-chandra (c. 1114—54) who extended his conquests as far as Monghyr in the east and successfully defended Benares and other holy places against the Turushkas, i.e. the Muslim invaders. Though a Brahmanical Hindu, he was tolerant towards Buddhism and had at least two Buddhist queens.

Jayach-chandra.

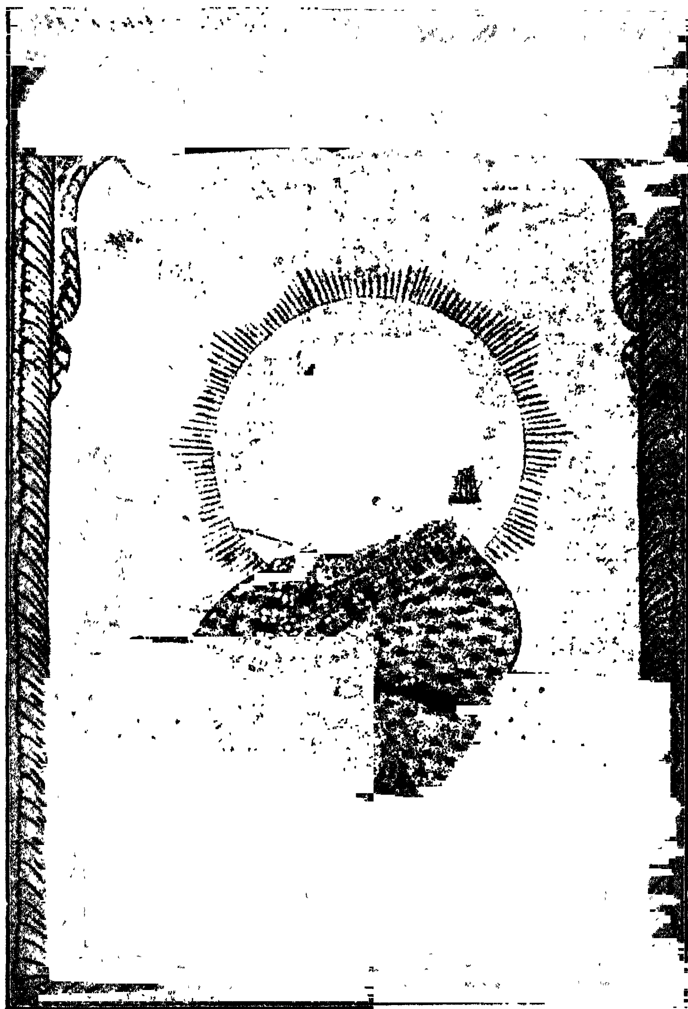
Jayachchandra (1170—94) was the last notable king of the line. The story of his feuds with his rival and son-in-law, Prithviraja III, king of Ajmer and Delhi, forms the theme of the poems of Chand Bardai. Advantage was taken of this internecine strife by Muizz-ud-din Muhammad of Ghur whose troops defeated and killed Jayachchandra at Chandwar in 1194 and broke the power of the Gahadavala dynasty. After the Muslim conquest the bulk of the Gahadavala clan is said to have retired to the desert of Rajputana and established the Rathor State of Jodhpur.

Battle of Chandwar.

The Tomaras and the Chauhans :—The Tomaras rose to power in the territory between the Sutlej and

Tomaras.

the Jumna under the suzerainty of the imperial Pratiharas. A Tomara chief named Anangapala is **Foundation of Delhi.**



Prithviraja

believed to have built the Red Fort at Delhi about A.D. 1052. Tomara rule was supplanted by that of the Chahamanas or Chauhans of Sakambhari (Sambhar) and Ajmer. A Chauhan chief named Chandana defeated the Tomaras probably about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. His great-grandson Vigraharaja II (973) was the contemporary and rival of Mularaja I of Gujarat. Vigraharaja IV, who was ninth in descent from Vigraharaja II, conquered Delhi and raised the Chahamanas to the position of a great power. He was a poet as well as a warrior, and was the reputed author of the *Harakeli Nataka*. The most famous king of the line was Prithviraja III, nephew of Vigraharaja IV. Prithviraja was the beau ideal of Rajput chivalry and his exploits in love and war have been immortalised by his court poet, Chand. The story of his daring abduction of the daughter of Jayachchandra, who willingly accepted him as her lord, is well known. A chivalrous lover, the Chahamana hero was also a brave warrior. He defeated Paramardi, the Chandella king of Bundelkhand, and inflicted a severe defeat upon Muizz-ud-din Muhammad of Ghur at Tarain near Thanesar (1191 A.D.). But the Sultan returned in 1192 A.D. and once more met Prithviraja in the memorable field of Tarain. A great battle was fought. The Rajputs could not withstand the charge of the Muslim cavalry. Prithviraja was defeated and and murdered in cold blood. The Chahamana clan retired to Central India and took refuge in the strong fortress of Ranthambhor.

Chahamanas. **Prithviraja III.** **Battles of Tarain.**

CHAPTER XIV

THE PASSING OF THE OLD HINDU EMPIRES IN SOUTHERN INDIA

The Chalukyas of Kalyana :—While Northern India was split up into numerous kingdoms, the Deccan Proper maintained some degree of political unity under the later Chalukyas of Kalyana or Kalyani in what is now the Nizam's dominion. The founder of the line was Taila II (973—97) who claimed descent from the older Chalukya dynasty of Vatapi. Taila overthrew the Rashtrakutas in 973 and crushed the power of Munja of Malwa probably about 995. Under his successors a bitter contest ensued between the Chalukyas and the Cholas for the mastery of the Krishna-Tungabhadra frontier. Somesvara I Ahavamalla, great-grandson of Taila, won some successes at Koppam (1052 A.D.) but was totally defeated at Kudal Sangamam. The struggle continued under Vikramaditya VI (1076—c. 1126-7), son of Ahavamalla, who defeated the Cholas and established a new era. He was a patron of learning and his court was graced by the poet Bilhana and the jurist Vijnanesvara. After him the power of his dynasty gradually declined. The supreme power at Kalyana was usurped for a time by Bijjala Kalachurya and his sons (1156—83). Bijjala's reign saw a remarkable revival of Saivism, led by his minister Basava, the prophet of the Lingayat sect. In 1183 the Chalukya power was temporarily restored by a general of Somesvara IV. But the fall of the empire could not be averted (1190). Three dynasties sprang out of its ruins, viz., the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra (in Mysore), the Yadavas of Devagiri (in

Chola-Chalukya contest.

Vikram-aditya VI.

Kala-churyas.

Saiva revival.

Fall of the Empire of Kalyana.

Maharashtra) and the Kakatiyas of Warangal (in the Telugu country).

The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra :—The Hoysalas ruled as petty chiefs in Mysore after the decline of the

Gangas.

Ganga dynasty which ruled from about the fifth to the eleventh century A.D. The Hoysala family rose to

Vishnu-vardhana.

greatness under Vishnuvardhana (c. 1106—1141) who had his capital at Dorasamudra, modern Halebid, famous for its fine temples. Mysore had been a strong-

Vaishnava Revival.

hold of Jainism ; but now a Vaishnava revival began under Ramanuja, who fled from the Tamil country and

Vira Ballala II and his successors.

found refuge with Vishnuvardhana. Vira Ballala II (1173—1220), grandson of Vishnuvardhana, assumed the royal title, established an era, defeated the Yadavas of Devagiri and pushed his dominions northwards as far as the river Malaprabha. Vira Somesvara (c. 1234—54), grandson of Vira Ballala II, conquered a portion of the

Fall of the Dynasty.

Tamil country. Vira Ballala III (c. 1292—1342), grandson of Vira Somesvara, sustained defeats at the hands of Kafur, the general of Alauddin Khalji. In c. 1327 the capital was destroyed and the king, though retaining hold on Hampi, retired to the South Arcot district.

Rise of Vijaya-nagara.

Traces of Hoysala rule are found as late as c. 1346. But by that time the great empire of Vijayanagara had risen to power and hurled back the Muslim armies.

The Yadavas of Devagiri :—The founder of the independent Yadava kingdom of Devagiri or Daulatabad was Bhillama (1187—91). But the king who raised it

Singhana.

to eminence was Singhana (1210—47), the grandson of Bhillama, who pushed his conquests as far as the Narmada in the north and the Krishna and the Malaprabha in the south. During his reign Changadeva,

College of astronomy.

grandson of Bhaskaracharya, founded a college for the study of the astronomical works written by his grandfather. Singhana was followed by two of his grandsons Krishna (1247—60) and Mahadeva (1260—71), after

whom came Ramachandra (1271—c. 1309), son of Krishna. The celebrated writers Hemadri, Bopadeva and Jnanesvara flourished during the reigns of Mahadeva and Ramachandra. The political and military power of the kingdom, however, declined about this time and in 1294 Devagiri was pillaged by Alauddin Khalji. Ramachandra was obliged to surrender six hundred *maunds* of pearls, two *maunds* of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and other valuables. In 1306-7 came Malik Kafur, the general of Alauddin, who compelled the Yadava king to pay tribute. The son and successor of Ramachandra was killed in 1312 or 1313; and his son-in-law Harapala was flayed alive in 1317 or 1318. This completed the ruin of the Yadava dynasty.

Successors of Singhana.

Decline of the Yadavas.

The Kakatiyas of Warangal:—The Kakatiya power rose in the Eastern Deccan in the territory occupied by the Andhra or Telugu-speaking people. The dynasty in the opinion of some scholars derives its name from Kakati, a form of the Goddess Durga. The capitals were at Anumakonda and Warangal. The founder of the line was Durjaya. But the first eminent chief was Prolaraja II, who defeated the Chalukya emperor of Kalyana. Prola's son and successor Rudra (cir. 1163—99) sustained a defeat at the hands of the Yadavas of Devagiri. His nephew Ganapati (c. 1199—1260), however, defeated Singhana the Yadava king and extended his dominions southwards as far as Kanchi. He left his crown to his daughter Rudramma (c. 1260—91). Rudramma wisely governed the Kakatiya territory and is eulogised by the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo. The last notable king was Prataparudra (1291—1330), son of a daughter of Rudramma. He defeated a Yadava king but was himself vanquished by the Muslims (c. 1308). He retained, however, his hold on Kanchi till 1316.

Queen Rudramma.

Rise of the Cholas of Tanjore :—The greatest rivals of the Chalukyas of Kalyana were the Cholas of Tanjore. The founder of the line was Vijayalaya, whose son Aditya (cir. 871—907) crushed the power of the Pallavas of Kanchi. Parantaka I (907—53), son of Aditya, extended his control over the neighbouring Tamil kingdoms and even invaded Ceylon. His reign was one of the most flourishing periods of village autonomy in Southern India. His eldest son was killed at Takkolam by Butuga II (947—48), the Ganga ally of Krishna III Rashtrakuta. The dynasty revived under Rajaraja (985—c. 1016 or 1018) who extended his sway over nearly the whole of the present Madras Presidency and Mysore. He possessed a powerful navy with which he conquered Ceylon and some other islands in the Indian Ocean. He built the magnificent temple at Tanjore and endowed a Burmese Buddhist shrine at Negapatam. He was succeeded by his son, Rajendra Chola I.

Rajaraja.

Rajendra Chola I (*Yuvarāja*, 1012, died c. 1043) : —He overran the Chalukya territory and won a great victory at Musangi or Muyangi. But his most famous achievement was the temporary subjugation of the entire coast of the Bay of Bengal as far as the banks of the Ganges. To commemorate the successful expedition to the Ganges or the final overthrow of the Ganga kings of Mysore, he assumed the title of "Gangaikonda" and founded a new capital in the Trichinopoly district called Gangai-konda-Cholapuram. He extended the oversea possessions of his father by the annexation of the Nicobar islands as well as parts of Lower Burma.

Successors of Rajendra Chola I :—Rajadhiraja (*Yuvarāja*, 1018, d. 1052), son of Rajendra Chola I, lost his life at Koppam. But the defeat was retrieved by

Sons of Rajendra Chola I.

Rajendra (1052—c. 63). The next king Vira Rajendra (c. 1163-70) won a great victory over the Chalukyas at Kudal Sangamam probably at the junction of the Krishna and the Pancha Ganga rivers. In 1074 the Chola throne passed into the hands of Rajiga or Rajendra Chola II Kulottunga, the son of a Chalukya king of Vengi by a Chola princess, the daughter of Rajendra Chola I.

Kudal Sangamam.

The Eastern Chalukyas :—The Chalukya line of Vengi (at the mouth of the Krishna and the Godavari), also known as the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, was established in the seventh century A.D. by a brother of Pulakesin II of Vatapi. The family rose to power under Narendra Mrigaraja (c. 799—843), a contemporary and rival of the great Rashtrakuta kings, Govinda III and Amoghavarsha I. From the time of Rajaraja Chola a series of marriages attached the Chalukya kingdom of Vengi to the Chola interest. Rajiga or Rajendra Chola II, who claimed descent through his mother from Rajendra Chola I, aspired to the empire of his maternal grandfather. In 1074 he succeeded in gaining the Chola throne and became the founder of a line of Chola-Chalukyas. He fought with Vikramaditya VI of Kalyana and probably wrested Kalinga from the Eastern Ganga king, Anantavarman. He carried out a revenue survey in 1086. After the death of Kulottunga III (1178—1216) the Chola princes sank into insignificance; and the supremacy of the Tamil country was shared between the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Pandyas of Madura.

Rajendra Chola II 1070-1118.

Decline of the Cholas.

The Pandyas of Madura :—The major part of Pandya, a territory which corresponded to the modern districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly, was a province of the Chola Empire in the time of Rajendra I and his immediate successors. But the old royal line

was not extinct. Early in the thirteenth century A.D. Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (1216-38) defeated the Cholas and founded a powerful kingdom, which, under Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (1251—70), became the predominant power in the Tamil country. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the Pandya port of Kayal and described it as a great city where much business was done. The king was the owner of vast wealth and showed favour to foreigners. In 1310-11 a disputed succession provided an opportunity for interference to Kafur, the general of Sultan Alauddin Khalji of Delhi.

Visit of Marco Polo.

Orissa :—Orissa had no political unity after the fall of the great empire of Kharavela. It was overrun by the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. and by Harsha in the seventh century. A part of it acknowledged the supremacy of Sasanka of Bengal (619). In the sixth century A.D. or a little earlier, a powerful kingdom was established on its southern borders by a line of rulers who are known as the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, to distinguish them from the Western Gangas of Mysore. The Upper Mahanadi Valley was ruled by kings of the so-called Panduvamsa who were followed about the tenth century A.D. by the Somavamsi Guptas. Kings Janamejaya and Yayati of this family are known to tradition. Eastern Orissa, including the kingdom of Tosali (probably in the Puri district), acknowledged the sway of the Karas, originally a Buddhist family (afterwards Hindu) who ruled from about the eighth to the tenth century A.D. During their rule and that of their successors, Orissa was repeatedly overrun by the kings of Kamarupa, Bengal, Chedi, and the Chola country. Towards the close of the eleventh century Anantavarman Choda Ganga (c. 1078-1148) of the Eastern Ganga line laid the foundations of a powerful kingdom, which soon stretched from the Ganges to the

Eastern Gangas.

Kara Dynasty.

Choda Ganga.

Godavari. He was a great patron of religious works and charities and gave orders for the construction of the famous temple of Jagannatha at Puri, which was probably completed in the time of his great-grandson Anangabhima III. The descendants of Choda Ganga had to defend their kingdom against the attacks of the Senas of Bengal and their Muslim successors. The last king of the line was probably Bhanu IV, who was succeeded by his minister Kapilendra (1434--35 A.D.).

Temple of Jagannatha.

Fall of the Gangas.

CHAPTER XV

HINDU CIVILISATION DURING THE POST-GUPTA PERIOD

Society :—The centuries that immediately followed the disruption of the Early Gupta empire saw a great change in the Hindu social polity. In spite of the attempts even of Buddhist kings like Dharmapala to maintain the old order, the time-honoured social divisions were passing away, and a new system coming in. The Brahmanas still maintained and even increased their influence. But the old Kshatriya families tended to disappear and their place was occupied by the Rajputs, who dominated the stage of Indian history from the eighth century A.D. to the Muslim conquest. The origin of the Rajput clans is a subject of much dispute. Some of them, e.g. the Chandellas, were probably indigenous, but others had undoubtedly foreign blood in their veins. The Huns, for instance, found a place among the thirty-six clans of the Rajputs ; and Hun princesses were married to potentates like Karna, king of the Chedis. Another foreign tribe, the Gurjara, was the parent stock from which the great Rajput dynasty of the Pratiharas probably sprang. While the ruling families of the Hinduised foreign tribes were admitted into the frame of Hindu society as Rajputs, the rank and file developed into castes having an inferior status. The Gujars, for instance, a caste widely distributed in Upper India, are doubtless descended from the Gurjara immigrants of the sixth century A.D.

Caste.

Rajputs.

Gujars.

Attempts were made by *Smriti* writers and commentators and kings like Ballalasena of Bengal to lay

down elaborate codes of caste rules. The latter introduced in Bengal the system called Kulinism which conferred distinction on select families of Brahmanas, Vaidyas and Kayasthas in that province. **Kulinism.**

Marriage Marriage rules had not yet become as rigid as they are now. Contemporary inscriptions give us instances of intermarriage between foreign immigrants and the indigenous population, between orthodox Hindus and Buddhists and between Brahmanas and Kshatriyas.

Hindus and foreigners. Towards the close of the period the Hindus had, according to Alberuni, a Muhammadan scholar who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni, become very illiberal towards foreigners. They called them impure. They would not admit into their company any one who did not belong to them, even if he wished it or was inclined to their religion. But the picture is perhaps a little overdrawn and Hindu hostility was mainly directed to the Turks for obvious reasons. We are informed by Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhri that some of the Hindu kings were extremely partial to Mussalmans and employed them as governors in cities. A Vaghela king of Anhilwara allowed a Muslim shipowner to build a mosque in his dominions and liberally endowed it. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, refers to the favour shown to foreigners by the Pandya ruler of Kayal in consequence of which they visited his city in large numbers.

Position of Women :—Women, specially of the upper classes, still held an honourable position in society. They figured as queens regnant, generals and governors of provinces. Some of the royal ladies of the period are referred to in contemporary records as "not only skilled in music and dancing but also displaying their accomplishments in public". Early marriage was, however, becoming common. Marriage was indis-

soluble. If a wife lost her husband she could not marry again. She had to choose between two things—either to remain a widow or to burn herself.

Religion :—In religious history the most striking features of the period are the decline of Buddhism and the growing influence of Jainism and Puranic Hinduism. The patronage of Harsha during the later years of his life could not arrest the decay of the religion of Sakyamuni. Yasovarman and his successors on the throne of Kanauj were apparently Hindus, and under them Brahmanism regained its ascendancy in the Madhya-desa or the Upper Gangetic provinces. The last clear traces of Buddhism in Upper India are found in records of the Gahadavala dynasty. In Bengal and Orissa this religion flourished under the Palas and the Karas, but gradually tended to disappear under the Senas and the Gangas. In Magadha the final blow was dealt by the sword of Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad, son of Bakhtyar. In Southern India scarcely any traces are found after Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyana.

Decay of Buddhism.

Jainism, the other great non-Brahmanical religion, was practised with great devotion in the Kanarese country and Gujarat. The Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha liberally patronised the Digambara sect, and Bijjala Kalachurya was an ardent devotee of Mahavira. With the rise of the Lingayats and the Vaishnava revival under Ramanuja and Madhvacharya, Jainism lost its predominance in the Mysore country and its neighbourhood. But it found patrons and protectors in the kings and ministers of Gujarat. Jaina temples at Girnar, Palitana and Mount Abu testify to the popularity of the creed in Western India and the zeal of its followers.

State of Jainism.

The most interesting fact of the period is, however, the growing popularity of Puranic Hinduism. The most prominent characteristic of this religion is

Hindu Ascendancy.

the doctrine of the *Trimurti* or the threefold manifestation of the one universal spirit in the forms of Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Rudra-



The Trimurti (or Mahesvara?), Elephanta

Siva the destroyer. Another feature is the doctrine of incarnation (*Avatara*), i.e. the intervention of the Supreme Being in human or even animal forms in the affairs of man to carry out the divine purpose. Buddha himself found a place among the *Avataras* of Vishnu. Everywhere magnificent temples dedicated

to Vishnu, Siva, the Avataras and the other members of the Puranic pantheon were erected.

Some of the Hindus of the period were strict monotheists paying exclusive devotion to Vishnu, Siva, Sakti (Durga) or the Sun, though allowing a place in the celestial hierarchy to the popular gods as subordinate to the Supreme Divinity. They had special scriptures of their own called Agamas, Samhitas, Tantras, etc.

Saints and Prophets :—The increasing power of Hinduism was not a little due to the teaching of a number of saints and religious reformers who appeared during this period. The first were probably the Tamil Saiva saints like Sambandar and the earlier Vaishnava Alvars. Next came Kumarila, a Brahmana of Eastern India, who maintained the efficacy of the Vedic rites and denied it to the faith and practices of other schools.

Kumarila.

Sankaracharya :—Then came Sankaracharya, a Nambudri Brahmana of Kaladi in Malabar. He taught the *Advaita* or monistic form of Vedantism, which he developed in his commentaries on the Upanishads, the Gita and the Vedanta. He travelled as a teacher throughout India engaging in discussing with the leaders of other schools of thought. He founded *mathas* or monasteries of which the chief is at Sringeri in Mysore. The others are at Puri in Orissa, Dwarka in Kathiawar and Badrinath in the Himalayas. He died probably at Kedarnath in the Himalayas at the age of thirty-two or thirty-eight. He taught that "there existed one Supreme Spirit alone and the feelings of individuality and other attributes of the animal spirit and the variety of the inanimate world owe their origin to the principle of *maya* and are unreal".

Ramanuja :—The doctrine of *maya* did not satisfy the religious craving of many people ; and a teacher

appeared who emphasised the importance of *bhakti* or loving faith in God and preached the worship of One Deity under the name of Vishnu or Narayana. This was Ramanuja, the son of a Brahmana of Sri Perumbudur near Madras, who was born in the eleventh century. He lived at Kanchi and Srirangam, but persecution compelled him to take refuge in the dominions of the Hoysala prince Vishnuvardhana (c.1106—41). He died at Srirangam in 1137. Ramanuja drew his inspiration from the saints called Alvars. His followers are known as Sri Vaishnavas.



Vishnu

Basava :—Saivism found an exponent in Basava, the Brahmana minister of Bijjala Kalachurya, the Jaina ruler of Kalyana (1156-67). Basava was born at Bagewadi (Bijapur District) not far from the junction of the Malaprabha and the Krishna. He is the great prophet of the Lingayats, an influential sect of the Kanarese country, who worship Siva in his *linga* form. The Lingayats reject the authority of the Vedas and

oppose the claims of the Brahmanas. They advocate the remarriage of widows and are opposed to the marriage of children.

Administrative Divisions.

Administration :—The administrative system of the period under review goes back to the Gupta age in its fundamentals. The lowest unit of administration was the village under its headman (*gramapati*). Villages were grouped into *Vishayas* or districts under officers styled *Vishayapati* ; and a number of *Vishayas* made up a *Bhukti, Desa* or *Mandala* which was sometimes the largest administrative division of a Hindu kingdom in those days. The ruler of a *Bhukti* was usually styled *Uparika,* and that of a *Desa* or *Mandala, Mahasamanta* or *Mahamandalesvara*. When the central authority became weak the *Vishayapatis, Uparikas* and *Mahamandalesvaras* not unfrequently assumed the style of *Raja.* Outlying provinces were frequently placed under military governors who, like the Lords Marchers in England, enjoyed practical independence. Kings and governors were assisted by a host of officials like the *Sandhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war), *Akshapatalika* (minister in charge of records), etc. District officers on the other hand had the assistance of the leading men of the locality, like the *Nagarasreshthin* (guild president), and the *Prathama Kayastha* (chief scribe).

Local self-Government

In Southern India we have evidence of the existence of an excellent system of local self-government. Villages were grouped into unions each of which managed its local affairs through an assembly.

Economic Condition :—From time immemorial India has been famous as a land of plenty. The soil producing rich crops supplied the inhabitants with all that was required to make life enjoyable. Foreign trade brought wealth from distant lands. It was the

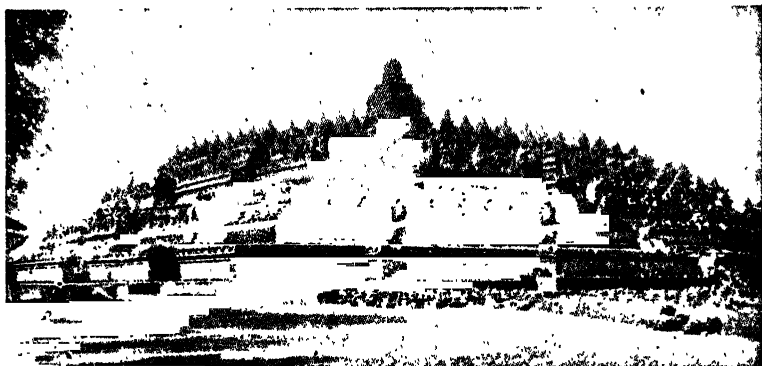
"fabulous wealth of Ind" that made this country the coveted prize of vigorous races coming from less favoured climes. Indian kings ordinarily protected the people like their own children. But some disgraced themselves by ingenious systems of fiscal oppression. Moreover, failure of rains occasionally resulted in the destruction of crops, which led to famine. Vivid pictures of such calamities are given in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* and Dandin's *Dasakumara-charita*. To alleviate the misery of the people, irrigation departments were maintained by the best Hindu governments. Kalhana refers to the "beneficent schemes of drainage and irrigation" of king Avantivarman of Kashmir, carried out by Suyya, his minister of public works. Irrigation works were also constructed on a vast scale by the Chola kings of Southern India.

Wealth of India. **Famine.** **Irrigation.**

Maritime Activity and Cultural Expansion:— The Indian Ocean was a highway for the spread of Indian political influence and of Indian culture to the Trans-Gangetic peninsula and the great archipelago that lies scattered off the coast of Malay. The Cholas of Southern India maintained a powerful fleet and acquired a large number of islands in the Indian Ocean. They pushed their conquests as far as Kadaram and also to the seaports of Takkolam and Martaban in lower Burma. The Pandya port of Kayal near the mouth of the river Tamraparni was about this time one of the greatest marts of the East and carried on a brisk trade with many foreign countries. The Palas of Bengal maintained close relations with the rulers of Sumatra and Java. The latter island, which was a centre of Brahmanism in the days of Fa-hien, had now become predominantly Buddhist and the remains of Borobudur attest the wide prevalence of the religion of Sakyamuni and the artistic skill of of its devotees. Remains of Indian civilisation have also

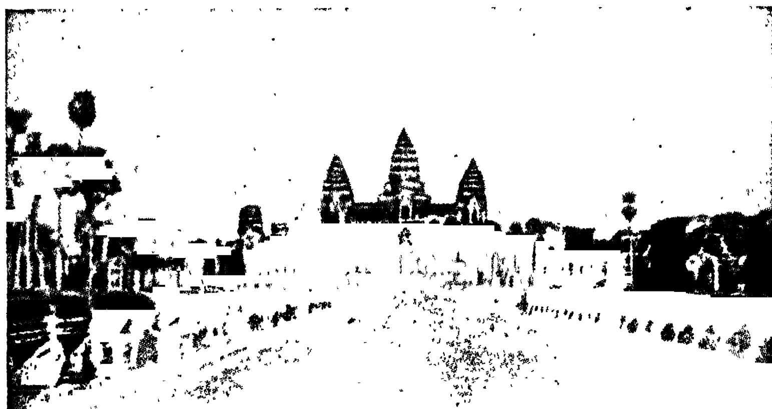
Chola fleet. **Pandyan trade.** **Bengal's relation with the Malay Archipelago.**

Champa and Cambodia. been found in Champa and Cambodia in French Indo-China and particularly at Angkor Vat in the last



Borobudur

mentioned country. A record of about A.D. 600 in Cambodia refers to arrangements made in a temple for the recitation of the Ramayana, the Puranas and the



Angkor Vat

complete Mahabharata. The Pala period saw a''gi. extension of Buddhist influence to Tibet. **Tibet.**

Literature and Science:—Scholars dazzled by the glories of the Gupta age are apt to regard the succeeding centuries as an age of decadence. As a matter of fact literature and science were not neglected during the post-Gupta period. In epic poetry we have the works of Bharavi, Magha, Sri-Harsha and others. **Sanskrit Literature.** These, it is true, do not reach the level attained by Kalidasa. But in drama the age produced Bhavabhuti, who excels the author of the *Sakuntala* and the *Vikramorvasi* in tragic pathos, if he is inferior to him in grace and charm. Excellent plays were also written by Harsha, Mahendravarman, Rajasekhara, Krishnamisra and others of lesser note. The twelfth century produced the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva, perhaps the finest lyric poem in the Sanskrit language. Another distinguished writer of lyrics was Bhartrihari who died in or about A.D. 651. In prose we have the works of Subandhu, Bana and Dandin. Some of the later versions of the *Panchatantra* are also to be assigned to this period. Historical literature, which is miserably represented in the earlier epoch, was actively cultivated in the post-Gupta age by a number of writers, among whom the most eminent were Bana, the author of the *Harsha-Charita*, Kalhana, the narrator of the Kashmir Chronicle styled the *Rajatarangini*, Bilhana, the poet of the *Vikramanka-Charita* and Sandhyakara Nandi, the historian of the *Rama-Charita*. Vernacular **Vernacular literature.** literature was developed by poets and saints like Luyipada, the author of certain poems called *Charyas* written in old Bengali, Chand Bardai, the bard of the *Prithviraj Raso*, Jnanesvara, a Marathi commentator on the Bhagavad Gita, Manikka Vasahar, the singer of the Tamil *Tiruvasaham* or "sacred utterance", and Pampa, the author of the Kanarese Maha-

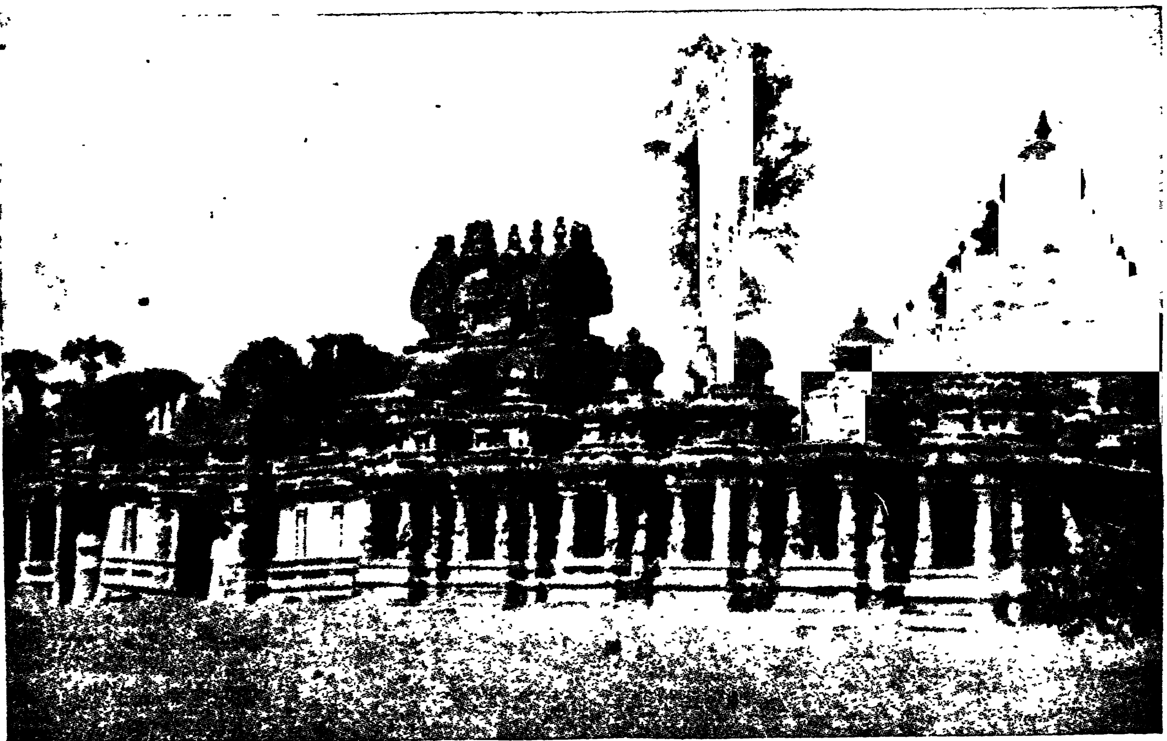
Philosophy and Science.

been far. Philosophical literature was enriched by the commentaries of Udyotakara, Kumarila, Sankara, Vachaspatimisra and Ramanuja. In the field of medicine valuable works were written by Vagbhata and Chakrapani. And lastly, in the domain of astronomy the age produced Bhaskaracharya, the author of the *Siddhantasiromani,* which enjoys more authority in India than any other work of the same kind except the *Surya-siddhanta.* A Chalukya king, Somesvara III, son of Vikramaditya VI, wrote a work named *Abhilashitartha-Chintamani* or *Manasollasa* which deals with Polity, Astronomy, Rhetoric, Poetry, Medicine, Alchemy, Music, Painting, Architecture and various other subjects. He was by no means the only polymath of the period.

Architecture.

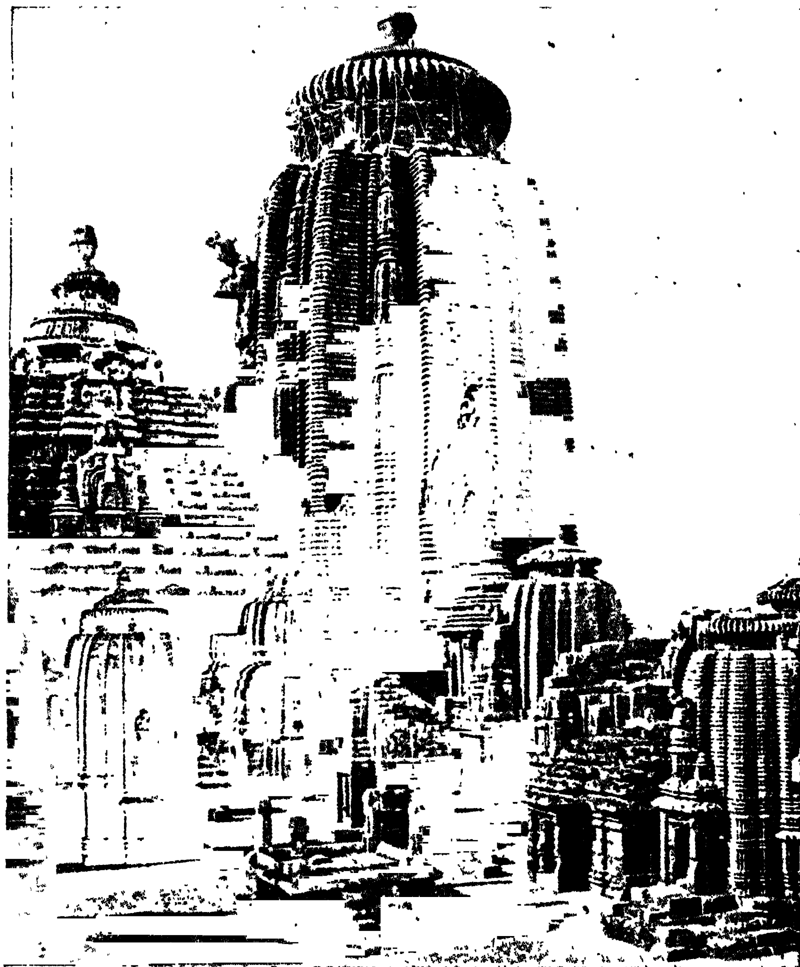
Art and Architecture:—It was in the post-Gupta Period that fine stone monuments were first constructed in the Far South of India by the Pallava kings. The wonderful *Rathas* or "Seven Pagodas" cut out of rock boulders at Mamallapuram marked the reign of Narasimha Pallava, the rival and conqueror of Pulakesin II. Narasimha II, great-grandson of the first Narasimha, built the beautiful shrine called Kailasanatha at Kanchi. Vikramaditya II of the Chalukya family constructed a similar temple at Pattadakal. Krishna I of the Rashtrakuta dynasty tried to surpass it by carving another out of the rock at Ellora. This noble shrine is ornamented with some of the most beautiful sculpture compositions to be found in this country. Splendid edifices were also constructed by the Cholas at Tanjore and the Hoysalas at Belur and Halebid in Mysore.

In the North the finest groups of medieval temples are those at Bhuvanesvara and Konarak in Orissa, Khajuraho in Bundelkhand and Mount Abu in Rajputana. These are constructed in the so-called



Kailasanatha Temple, Kanchipuram

Indo-Aryan style. A variation of this style, found in Bengal, is characterised by the use of the bent cornice, imitated from the bamboo roofs of ordinary Bengali cottages.



Lingaraja Temple, Bhuvanesvara

The figures decorating the temple of Kailasanatha at Ellora and fine Buddhist images found at Mahoba show that sculptures were still executed with "mechanical perfection and considerable grace". A special school of sculpture was developed in the Pala dominions. Buddhist and Vaishnava images in the 'Pala style' and of fine workmanship have been found at Nalanda, Rangpur and other places. Painting of the Pala school is illustrated in two palm leaf Mss. of the *Ashtasahasrika prajnaparamita and Pancharaksha.* **Sculpture.** **Painting.**

CHAPTER XVI

THE COMING OF ISLAM

Advent of Islam in India.

Muhammad the Prophet and Islam :—Early in the eighth century A.D. a new factor was introduced into Indian history. A Muslim (Arab) army from Iraq conquered Sind. The Arab ascendancy was confined to a small province of this extensive land, and the new rulers of Sind broke away from their mother country before long. But isolated as they were from the rest of the Muslim world, the newcomers not only held their own against the Hindu religion and culture but made many converts from the old population. They failed indeed to extend their power further inland, but nearly two centuries later Muslims from other countries entered India and obtained a firm foothold on the banks of the Indus. As time went on, fresh hordes followed from Afghanistan and Central Asia and founded an empire in India that endured for many centuries. Though the real conquerors of Hindusthan were not Arabs, they were none the less followers of Muhammad and to-day the Muslims number more than fifty millions in British India alone.

Muhammad, the Prophet, his life and work.

Muhammad, the founder of Islam, was an Arab. He belonged to the powerful and influential tribe of Quraish and was an inhabitant of Mecca. About his early life we know next to nothing. His father Abdallah died before his birth, and Aminah, his mother, died soon afterwards. The poor orphan was brought up by his grandfather and uncle. He died in June A.D. 632 and was then sixty-two years of age. It is, therefore,

very likely that he was born some time in the year 570 of the Christian era. Probably he accompanied the trading caravans of Mecca to Syria and Persia and even to Egypt and Abyssinia. But he did not feel the prophetic call until he was forty. The Arabs in those days worshipped stocks and stones, idols and images. They were not altogether uncivilised, but their simple faith was not free from superstition. Muhammad began to expose the common errors of his countrymen and soon made a few converts. But the people of Mecca were indignant that their cherished faith should be so severely criticised, and the early adherents of Muhammad had to seek shelter in Abyssinia. Muhammad remained behind and continued to preach his simple doctrine—"There is but one God", "there is no God but Allah", and "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah". The leading men of his city disliked this doctrine ; and at last Muhammad had to leave Mecca for Yathrib, the Medina of to-day. This happened in 622 A.D. and the Muslim era of *Hijrah* (or 'migration') dates from that year. The people of Medina soon accepted the new faith and Muhammad returned to his native town at the head of a victorious army. Not content with the conversion of his relatives and fellow townsmen, he sent his missionaries to other parts of Arabia, and before his death nearly the whole of that sparsely populated peninsula accepted the new religion. After his death, his work was continued by his disciples. They conquered Egypt, overran North Africa and crossed over to Spain. Nearer home, Syria, Palestine and Persia acknowledged their sway ; and in 711 Sind was invaded. That the Arabs were good soldiers it is needless to add and it is also true that conversion usually followed in the wake of conquest, but it would be idle to deny that the new faith strongly appealed to the primitive peoples of Asia and Africa, for most of

the Turks and Mughuls and other races, who afterwards carried the banner of Islam far and wide, had accepted the simple religion of their own accord. When Islam became the state religion in India, many converts were naturally made and large sections of the Indian Muslims are descended from these converts.

Muhammad, son of Qasim, and the Conquest of Sind :—Nearly eighty years elapsed after the death of the Prophet before the Arabs invaded Sind, but they were not unfamiliar with the land of the Hindus. Their trading vessels had visited the ports on the western coast, and plundering raids had on several occasions been made before permanent conquest and annexation were attempted. We read of one such raid as early as A.D. 637 against Thana near Bombay ; but Khalifah Umar, the second successor of Muhammad, did not countenance oversea exploits. Muhammadan adventurers sometimes harassed Indian territories from the frontier province of Mekran or South Baluchistan, but the first Muslim statesman to organise a regular expedition of conquest was Hajjaj, governor of Iraq. He was an imperialist by instinct and probably took advantage of the first excuse for declaring war against Dahir, king of Sind. What exactly happened it is difficult to ascertain, but all accounts agree that some Arab trading boats were molested by Indian pirates. Hajjaj demanded compensation from Dahir, but the latter denied his responsibility for the misdeeds of the corsairs. War was declared but the first two expeditions proved unsuccessful. Nothing daunted, Hajjaj sent a third expedition against the Indian prince. The leader of this expedition was Muhammad, son of Qasim, a young man of seventeen. A near relative of Hajjaj, he naturally enjoyed considerable prestige and succeeded in inspiring his followers with confidence and enthusiasm. The army was both large and well equipped with

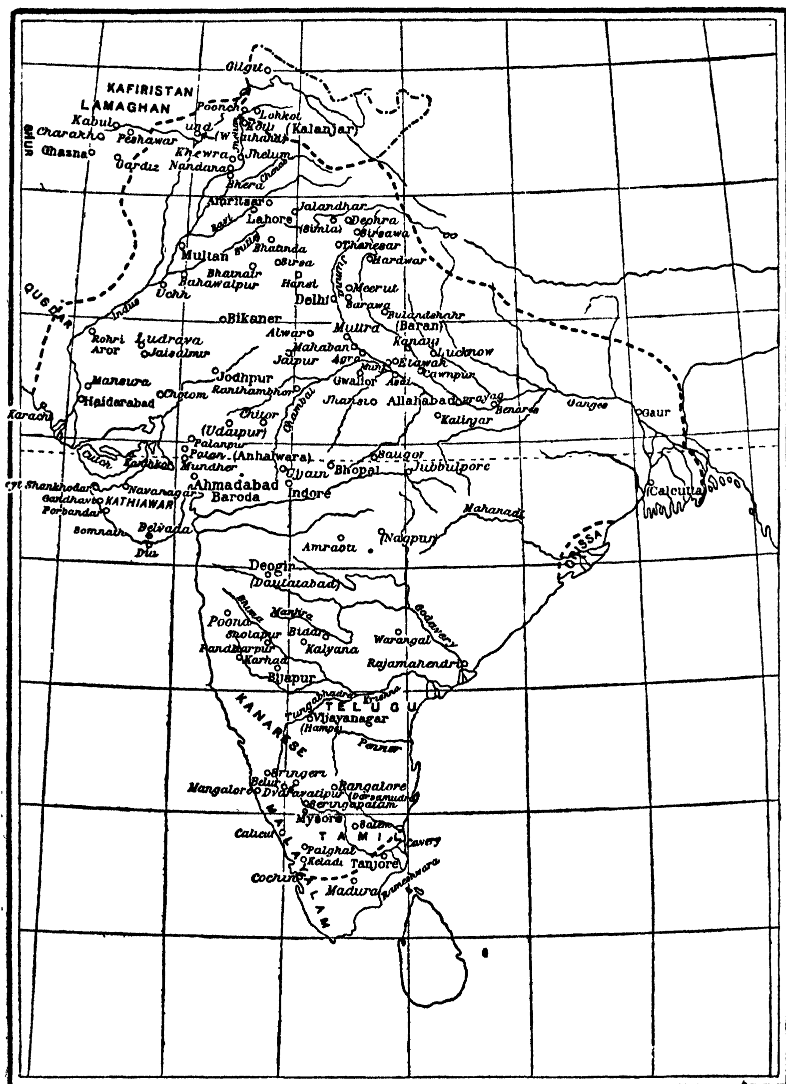
Hajjaj and Dahir.

up-to-date implements of war. Hajjaj had personally looked into the details of provision, and his choice of commander was fully justified by success. Dahir was no weakling but he was labouring under obvious difficulties. His father had supplanted the old royal dynasty, and Dahir could not count upon that unquestioning loyalty which the representative of a long and unbroken line of kings alone can command. The Buddhists of Sind suffered many disabilities under the new Hindu government and they swelled the ranks of the Muslim invaders. But the defence he offered was both resolute and protracted. Even after Dahir's defeat and death his son and widow bravely continued the war ; but the young Arab general carried everything before him, and before he relinquished his command, Sind and Multan were annexed to the Khalifah's empire. The current story of his tragic end must be rejected as unhistorical. The unfortunate young man was a victim of political jealousy and court intrigue ; the revengeful spirit of Hindu princesses had nothing to do with his death.

Arab Government of Sind :—The Hindus of Sind were well treated by their new rulers though the position of the Buddhists does not appear to have improved. The old minister of Dahir was employed to look after the land revenue administration, and the Hindus were permitted to repair and rebuild their temples and to perform their religious rites without any bar or hindrance. The Arab conquest of Sind "was only an episode in the history of India and of Islam". It was without any far-reaching political result, though it brought two widely different cultures into close and intimate contact. The Arabs learnt something new in Philosophy, Medicine, Mathematics and Astronomy from the Hindus and transmitted their newly acquired knowledge to Europe. The Arab settlers and their Hindu subjects lived side by side

Policy of Religious toleration and conciliation.

EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA



for many years in peace and amity, as we learn from Mas'udi and Ibn-Haukal. Then came the ruthless Turkish hordes from the hilly tracts of Ghazni and Kabul. They had as little sympathy for the heresies of their co-religionists as for the polytheism of the idol-worshippers of Mathura and Somnath.

The Kingdom of Ghazni :—About 962 the kingdom of Ghazni was founded by Alptigin, a Turk, who began his career as a slave. Fifteen years later, Subuktigin, originally a slave and later son-in-law of Alptigin, was raised to his master's throne.

Subuktigin and Jaipal :—In those days the north-western frontier of India stretched far beyond its present political boundary and portions of Afghanistan and the Punjab were under the government of a Hindu king who had his capital at Udabhandapura on the Indus, (modern Und), the Waihind or Bahind of the Muslim writers. The name of this king was Jaipal. He regarded the newly founded kingdom of Ghazni as an unwelcome menace to his own power and promptly took the offensive to resist the encroachments of his powerful neighbour. The fortune of war went against the Hindu king, and he had to pay a large indemnity and to cede a big slice of his lands beyond the Indus. Subuktigin's forces never crossed the river, but his famous son Mahmud served his apprenticeship during this war. The experience he then gained must have proved very useful in his Indian campaigns.

Early success of Subuktigin.

Sultan Mahmud :—Subuktigin died in August 997. His death was followed by a sharp contest between his sons Mahmud and Ismail for the vacant throne. Mahmud was the elder and the abler, but it has been alleged that his mother was of obscure origin. Ismail, on the other hand, was Alptigin's grandchild and had the further advantage of having

Civil war between Mahmud and Ismail.

been named as his successor by Subuktigin. But his power lasted only seven months. In March 998, Mahmud completely defeated his brother and firmly established his power. Two years later, he led his first expedition to India and then followed a series of daring exploits that brought Mahmud immense wealth and immortal fame.



Mahmud of Ghazni

Brilliant as Mahmud's military record undoubtedly is, we should not forget that the current account of

his Indian campaigns is wholly one-sided and later writers must have improved upon the original story. It is immaterial for our purpose to discuss how many times he invaded India. He did so frequently and penetrated far into the country. He burnt, pillaged and ravaged the towns and hamlets at his pleasure, and carried away the hoarded wealth of the rich cities and prosperous places of pilgrimage. Although the Indian princes were no match for him, Mahmud annexed only a few districts of the Punjab, those governed by the Hindu Raja of Und and the Muslim prince of Multan. A campaign of conquest is necessarily more arduous than a plundering raid ; and Mahmud apparently felt no inclination to extend his empire in India. He was attracted by the fabulous wealth of this ancient land. But he was the forerunner of the later conquerors of India.

General features of Mahmud's Indian wars.

The first of Mahmud's many expeditions to India was probably not unprovoked. A Muslim writer of the 14th century A.D. tells us that Jaipal tried to recover his lost territories during the civil war that followed Subuktigin's death, but failed. Mahmud took many forts, probably in the trans-Indus districts, and returned in 1001 at the head of a formidable force to punish his hostile neighbour. A fierce battle was fought near Peshawar in which the Hindu prince was defeated and captured. He was indeed restored to liberty in consideration of a huge ransom and permitted to return to his kingdom. But Jaipal felt the humiliation so keenly that he abdicted in favour of his son and put an end to his life on a burning pyre. The death of Jaipal did not bring the war to an end. For four generations the Hindu kings of Und did their utmost to stem the progress of Mahmud's arms and, unsuccessful as all their endeavours proved, their resolution and perse-

Mahmud's war against the Rajas of Und.

verance certainly deserve our praise. In 1006 Mahmud marched against the Muslim ruler of Multan; but Anandapal, son of Jaipal, would not allow him to pass through his territories. Anandapal was defeated and put to flight, but Multan was saved for the time being. Anandapal now probably realised that single-handed he was no match for the ruler of Ghazni and, according to a late authority, invited his neighbours to make common cause against the dreaded invader. The Muslim chronicler asserts that the Hindu princes readily responded to this appeal and in 1008 Mahmud met a formidable host near Und. For a time victory seemed doubtful, but the accidental flight of the Hindu leader's elephant decided the day and the demoralised horde was completely routed by Mahmud's disciplined veterans. The Sultan followed up this success by a raid against Bhimnagar and obtained immense booty rich "beyond the limit of calculation". Expelled from his old capital, Anandapal removed his headquarters to Nandana further east. Here his son Trilochanpal and his grandson Bhimpal, called *"nidar"* or the fearless, continued the unequal struggle till 1014 when Mahmud captured the fort. Trilochanpal was assassinated in 1021—22 and was succeeded by Bhim the fearless. The dynasty became extinct in 1026 when, it may be assumed, the principality was completely conquered and finally annexed to the kingdom of Ghazni. Multan had been subjugated much earlier in 1010. Mahmud was the best general of his age and his followers were inspired by religious zeal in a war against heretics and heathens. The Hindus, on the other hand, were disunited and usually failed to sink their differences in the face of a common danger. Anandapal had often to fight his Hindu neighbours; and though the powerful kings of Bulandshahar, Kanauj and

Hindu failure to unite against the invaders.

Kalinjar all felt in turn the weight of Mahmud's arms they never made a united effort against the common enemy of their country and religion.

Mahmud treated the holy places of India as so many treasure troves. The sack of Bhimnagar was followed by the capture of Thanesar in 1014 and the pillage of Mathura in 1018. But the best-known of all his adventures was the sack of Somnath in 1026. **Sack of Somnath.** Which appealed to his imagination most, the dangers of the unknown route or the prospects of vast wealth, it is difficult to say. It has been suggested that the priests of Somnath had practically invited the invasion by openly asserting that other gods had suffered at Mahmud's hands because they had somehow or other incurred the wrath of the lord Somnath. Mahmud set out with a well appointed army in 1025 and marched through the dreary deserts of Rajputana. Bhimdeva I, the king of Gujarat, offered no resistance and the Muslim army appeared before Somnath in January 1026.* The Sultan decided to carry the place by assault. The first attack was repulsed, but the next day the assailants stormed the place. Thousands of Hindu devotees were mercilessly slain, and the *lingam* they worshipped was shattered into pieces. The hoarded wealth, which, it is alleged, amounted to 20 million *dinars*, was appropriated by the victor but the story of jewels and precious stones stuffed in the hollow idol is apparently unfounded. The homeward journey was not without its dangers and difficulties, and Mahmud was once misled by a devotee of Somnath, but he ultimately

* The year of the destruction of Somnâth, according to Alberuni, is 416 A.H. or 947 Śakakâla. According to Ibnul-Athir, Mahmud arrived at Somnâth on the 14th Dhu'l-Qáda, 416, which corresponds to 6th January, 1026. We have, therefore, accepted the system of chronology adopted by Dr. Nazim.

succeeded in returning home in safety. The next year he led a punitive expedition against the Jats, the last of his many exploits in India. He died in 1030. His successors did not possess his ability, and, although they retained the Indian districts, it was left for a warrior of another dynasty to lay the foundation of the Muslim empire in India.

Mahmud, a patron of Learning.

Sultan Mahmud was not only a mighty conqueror but a generous patron of learning as well. The immense wealth he carried away from India was lavishly spent in embellishing the city of Ghazni. He founded a university there and richly endowed it. Among his court poets was Firdausi, the famous author of the *Shah Nama*. But the scholar who deserves our notice most is Abu Rihan or Alberuni, who accompanied Mahmud to India, learnt Sanskrit, and studied Philosophy, Astronomy and Mathematics. He wrote a valuable account of India and its institutions, which is treated with great respect by critics of to-day.

Hindus under Mahmud's government.

How the Hindus of the annexed districts fared under the government of Ghazni we do not know. Probably they were not unfairly treated. Mahmud had a Hindu regiment in his army, and Tilak, a Hindu of humble birth, rose to be a general under Mahmud's son. It is doubtful whether the Sultan ever made any direct attempt to propagate Islam in the land of the Hindus. He "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country", as Alberuni observes, and his ruthless procedure no doubt led to a bitter antagonism between the followers of the two faiths. "Mahmud's work, whatever it might have been, was swept away fifteen years after his death by the Hindu Revival", as Professor Habib points out, and the later conquerors of India differed widely in their aims and outlook from Mahmud and his followers.

Rise of Ghur.

Muhammad of Ghur :—The next great invader was of eastern Persian extraction and came from the obscure principality of Ghur. At first feudatories of Ghazni, the rulers of this petty state steadily rose to power and at last challenged the supremacy of their former suzerains. In the contest that followed, the descendants of Mahmud fared badly and had to abandon their old capital and seek safety in India. Here they were pursued by their implacable enemy, who deposed the last prince of the house of Ghazni and laid the foundation of the Muslim empire in India.

Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghur compared.

Shihab-ud-din, also known as Muizz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam or Muhammad of Ghur, as he was popularly called, was not the king of Ghur when he began his Indian campaigns. But he enjoyed the confidence of his brother, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din, and commanded his army. As a general he does not seem to have been so brilliant as Sultan Mahmud. In any case his military success was by no means uniform ; and he tried stratagem where courage proved unavailing. While the daring exploits of Mahmud were without any lasting effect, the ultimate results of Muhammad's Indian campaigns were far more enduring and important. Mahmud of Ghazni came to pillage and burn ; Muhammad of Ghur aimed at permanent conquest.

Early success of Muhammad.

His first success in India was against his co-religionists of Multan. He next occupied Uch, but his invasion of Gujarat proved a failure. He did not hesitate to make an alliance with the Hindu Raja of Jammu against the last Ghaznavid ruler of Lahore and in 1186 took him prisoner not by force but by guile. The occupation of Lahore made him the next-door neighbour of one of the most powerful Hindu princes of Northern India, Prithviraja III, the Chauhan king of Ajmer and Delhi, and naturally led to a conflict with him.

Dynastic changes in N. India.

Northern India had witnessed many changes since Sultan Mahmud's days. A Hindu dynasty, that of the Senas, had established itself in Bengal, though parts of Bihar still remained under the Buddhist Palas. The Chandellas continued to rule in Bundelkhand but the Gahadavalas occupied the throne of the Pratiharas in Kanauj. Jaichand or Jayachchandra of Kanauj was regarded as the greatest king in India by Muslim writers, and he resided mostly at Benares. He figures largely in the bardic songs of the times as his lovely daughter was carried away by the Chauhan hero Prithviraja. Henceforth Jaichand became the inveterate enemy of the ruler of Ajmer and Delhi and he did not forget his real or supposed injury even when Muhammad of Ghur appeared on the scene.

First and second Battles of Tarain.

In bravery and personal prowess the Rajputs were in no way inferior to their Muslim rivals, and they had a bold and chivalrous leader in Prithviraja. In 1182 he had defeated the Chandella king Paramardi ; and the morale of the Rajput forces was at its height when they met Muhammad's army for the first time at Tarain near Thanesar in 1191. The Rajputs fought with their usual impetuosity, and when the Muhammadan leader was wounded his followers lost heart and were routed. This initial failure did not dishearten Muhammad, and he made elaborate preparations for a second contest with the Chauhan chief. The next year the two adversaries met for the second time on the same field, and superior discipline and generalship triumphed. Prithviraja was captured and killed, the flower of Rajput chivalry lay slain on the fatal field and the victory was decisive. The relatives of Prithviraja did indeed attempt to recover their lost power but without any perceptible effect. In 1192-3 Qutb-ud-din Aibak occupied Delhi. In 1194 Jaichand of Kanauj was defeated and slain at Chandwar in the Etawah district. Three years later

Qutb-ud-din punished Bhimdeva of Gujarat, who was causing him no inconsiderable trouble, by occupying his capital. The kingdom, however, was not subjugated till a century later. In 1202 Qutb-ud-din captured Kalinjar and thus established the Muslim hegemony over the greater part of Hindusthan.

Conquest of Bihar and W. Bengal.

Meanwhile an able adventurer had added the eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal to the empire of Ghur. Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad, son of Bakhtyar Khalji, was one of the many daring young men who had followed Muhammad to India in search of fortune. His repellent appearance at first stood in his way, but at last he succeeded in earning the good opinion of another soldier of fortune who had established himself in Oudh. The Pala power in Bihar was in the last stage of its decadence, and Ikhtiyar-ud-din wrested the province from its feeble ruler. He next invaded Bengal and expelled Lakshmanasena, then an old man, from Nadia. The Sena power survived in Eastern Bengal for more than half a century but part of Western Bengal became a Muslim province. Thus in eighteen years the banner of Islam was carried from the Indus to the Ganges. But we should not forget that the entire area was not ruled by the Muslim conquerors in the same way as it is governed by the British to-day. The Muslim power was generally confined to the principal towns and their immediate neighbourhood, and the great bulk of the country was still governed by Hindu chieftains. They formally acknowledged the sovereignty of Delhi and appeased their powerful Muslim neighbours by tribute and presents when threatened with invasion, but usually they governed their principalities without interference.

In 1203 Ghiyas-ud-din died and Muhammad became in name, as he had so long been in reality, the ruler of Ghazni, Ghur and Delhi. Shortly afterwards his

power in India was temporarily threatened by an unforeseen accident. His arms met with a reverse in Central Asia and the news of this defeat stirred sedition and trouble in India. The gates of Ghazni were shut against Muhammad and the Khokars created disturbances in the Punjab. With characteristic zeal and promptitude Muhammad quelled rebellion everywhere and severely punished the Khokars. In 1206 while encamped on the banks of the Indus on his way to Ghazni, he was murdered by some unknown assassins. It has been variously surmised that the murderers were Khokars or Muslim heretics, and Rajput imagination identified the author of this act with their beloved hero Prithviraja, who, according to this fiction, had been blinded but not murdered after the second battle of Tarain.

Death of Muhammad of Ghur.

The vast empire founded by Muhammad of Ghur fell to pieces after his death. But the Muslim kingdom of India was kept intact by Qutb-ud-din Aibak who became the first independent Sultan of Delhi.

BOOK IV

MEDIEVAL INDIA

CHAPTER XVII

THE SLAVE DYNASTY

Qutb-ud-din Aibak :—Muhammad of Ghur left no heir of his body. His Turkish slaves rose to power everywhere and became his real successors. Thus the government of Ghazni passed into the hands of Taz-ud-din Yildiz, while the Muslim officers in India acknowledged Qutb-ud-din Aibak as their leader. The new king had started his career as a slave and had not been formally restored to freedom even when he was appointed to govern the Indian provinces of his master. The dynasty founded by him is, therefore, popularly known as the Slave Dynasty, though all but three kings of this line were princes born in the purple.

War with Ghazni.

Taj-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din had formerly been good friends. The new King of Delhi had married Taj-ud-din's daughter but their old friendship was quickly forgotten and they came to blows over the overlordship of the Punjab.

Neither of the contending parties could claim any decisive success. The political union between India and Afghanistan thus came to an abrupt end and was not restored until Babur's occupation of Delhi three centuries later.

Character of Qutb-ud-din.

After a short reign of four years Qutb-ud-din died of an accident at Lahore in 1210 while playing *Chaugan* or polo. He was a good soldier and strong king. His lavish generosity earned him the sobriquet of *Lakh-*

baksh or giver of lakhs. His government was not free from severities ; but the Muslim power in India was still in its infancy, and the great bulk of the Hindus still remained unsubdued. The alien rulers, therefore, naturally hesitated to try conciliatory measures at this early stage.

Aram.

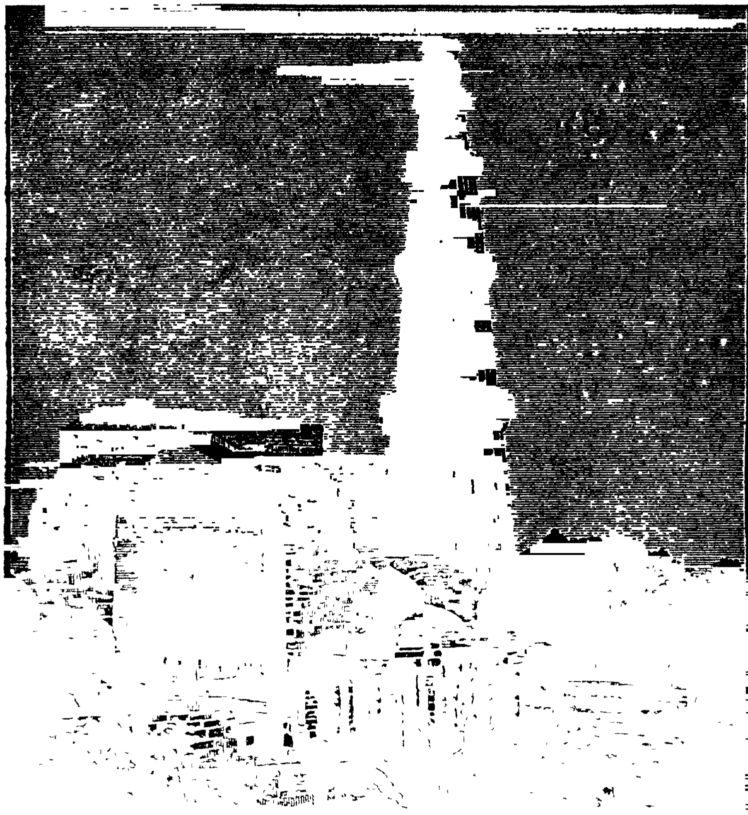
The Muslim nobles at Lahore promptly raised Aram Shah to the throne, for they thought it not prudent to leave the government long without an acknowledged head. The relationship between the new king and the deceased ruler must remain uncertain. He is "sometimes described as Aibak's adopted son but usually believed to have been a son of his body". People in those days were not overfastidious about their king's title, provided he was a good soldier and able leader. But Aram proved unequal to his task, and the nobles of Delhi invited Iltutmish to replace him.

Iltutmish :—Like Qutb-ud-din, Iltutmish was a Turk and a slave, but unlike him he was a man of attractive appearance. His good looks and high accomplishments attracted the notice of Qutb-ud-din, then Viceroy of Delhi, who purchased him at a fabulous price. Iltutmish rapidly rose in his master's favour and when Qutb-ud-din died, Iltutmish saved his kingdom from disintegration and decay.

Political condition of N. India.

To depose Aram was easy enough ; but the situation with which Iltutmish was confronted was beset with enormous difficulties. Taj-ud-din Yildiz had not abandoned his old pretensions, and Nasir-ud-din Qabacha, a fellow slave and kinsman of Qutb-ud-din, asserted his independence in Sind. The Khalji nobles in Bengal were no longer prepared to acknowledge the supremacy of Delhi ; and the Hindus had recovered Gwalior and Ranthambhor during the weak rule of

Aram Shah. Iltutmish could not deal with so many enemies at once. Suffice it to say that before his death,



Qutb Minar

the Punjab (1217), Sind (1226) and Bengal (1227) had been reduced to complete submission, Ranthambhor (1226) and Gwalior (1232) had been recaptured and the famous city of Ujjain occupied and sacked.

It was during the reign of Iltutmish that the Mughuls first appeared on the banks of the Indus

Chingiz Khan.

under their famous leader Chingiz Khan. They came in pursuit of the fugitive king of Khiva who had sought shelter in the Punjab. The ruler of Delhi refused to have anything to do with his unwelcome guest and when the unfortunate prince left the country his terrible enemies also went away. A great calamity was thus averted. But the Mughul hordes did not fail to harass the later kings of this dynasty.

Achievements of Iltutmish.

After a reign of twenty-six years Shams-ud-din Iltutmish died in 1236. He found the kingdom of Delhi dismembered and disorganised but left his successors a strong and compact dominion. He can therefore be rightly regarded as the greatest of the slave kings and the second founder of Muslim power in India. He was a generous patron of the fine arts and letters ; and Delhi became a great centre of Islamic culture under him. He completed the famous Qutb Minar of Delhi in 1231-32. The column was named after Khvaja Qutb-ud-din of Ush, a famous saint of the time, and not after the first Muslim Sultan of Delhi.

Raziyya :—Iltutmish had a poor opinion of his sons and so he nominated his favourite daughter Raziyya to succeed him. But the proud warriors of his court would not serve under a woman. They raised Rukn-ud-din Firuz, his eldest surviving son, to the throne. Rukn-ud-din was a pleasure-loving young man and left the government entirely in the hands of his mother, Shah Turkan, a cruel woman of mean origin. Her cruelty and misgovernment disgusted the nobles and rebellions broke out in different parts of the kingdom. When the nobles of Delhi learnt that Princess Raziyya was in danger they rose in a body, imprisoned the king and his mother and placed the talented princess on the throne. The rebel governors did not like Rukn-ud-din, but they refused to be reconciled to the government of a woman. Raziyya,

Rukn-ud-din Firuz.

however, soon proved that she was not deficient in manly virtues and she dispersed her enemies by superior diplomacy. She discarded the veil, led the



Empress Raziyya

army in person, assumed the dress of a man and conducted the government with conspicuous ability, but all to no purpose. Prejudice prevailed over good sense, and she was defeated and taken prisoner by a fresh confederacy organised against her. She tried to recover her throne by marrying her gaoler, Altuniya, governor of Bhatinda. But her efforts proved unsuccessful, and she was put to death with her husband

in 1240. Raziyya was the only woman to occupy the throne of Delhi. Her failure proves how difficult it is to overcome popular prejudice.

Nasir-ud-din Mahmud:—We need not go into the disgusting details of plots and counterplots, intrigues and counter-intrigues, cruel executions and secret assassinations that characterise the next two reigns. Muizz-ud-din Bahram and Ala-ud-din Mas'ud were both of them worthless princes, and the country knew no peace during the six years they occupied the throne of Delhi. It is with a sense of relief that we turn to the next reign, that of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. He was not a strong ruler, and things might have gone from bad to worse but for his able minister Ulugh Khan, who later ascended the throne of Delhi as Ghiyas-ud-din Balban. The good qualities of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud have been considerably exaggerated. He was a good calligraphist and spent his time in copying the *Quran*. But it is doubtful whether he earned his livelihood by that modest occupation. Nor is there any reason to believe that he was content with a single wife who had to perform all the humble services of the royal household. A mere puppet though he was, Nasir-ud-din once tried to overthrow his all-powerful minister. His efforts were seconded by the party opposed to Balban, and the latter was dismissed from his high office in 1253. But he enjoyed the confidence of the great majority of the nobles and returned to power before long. For the rest of the reign he was the real ruler and when the king (who was also his son-in-law) died in 1266, Balban occupied his throne as a matter of course.

Bahram and Mas'ud.

Ghiyas-ud-din Balban:—Ghiyas-ud-din Balban was the third slave to become king of Delhi. Like his predecessors he was a Turk and he originally belonged to a famous corps of slaves known as

"The Forty". The members of this confraternity aimed at a monopoly of power ; and not a little of the trouble that followed the death of Iltutmish was due to their ambition and intrigue. But Balban was resolved to restore peace and order at any cost and refused to be thwarted by his former colleagues. His object was twofold, suppression of the seditious activities of the powerful nobles and the protection of the frontier province against the inroads of the Mughuls. The latter task had been entrusted during the preceding reign to a cousin of his. Sher Khan Sunqar defended the Punjab with conspicuous ability, but he was a member of "The Forty", and the king regarded him with suspicion. When Sher Khan died, foul play was suspected. The defence of the Punjab was later entrusted to the king's eldest son and heir-apparent, Prince Muhammad.

"The Forty".

The Rajputs of Mewat (the district round Alwar) had never been thoroughly conquered though they lived in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi. A warlike people they had become a source of considerable trouble. During the disturbed days of Balban's predecessors they infested the very suburbs of the capital and "they used to come prowling into the city giving all kinds of trouble, depriving the people of their rest". Balban decided to put an end to their depredations once for all ; so he cut down the thick jungles that protected the miscreants and penetrated into the heart of their country. The punishment inflicted on them was cruel ; but it had the desired effect, and for sixty years the country was safe and quiet.

The Rajputs of Mewat.

The same relentlessness marked his campaign in Bengal. The remoteness of that wealthy province had often tempted its governors to rebellion and Tughril Khan, Balban's deputy in Bengal, assumed indepen-

Tughril Khan and Bengal.

dence in 1279. Two expeditions sent against him were repulsed. Balban punished the unsuccessful generals with death and then left for Bengal in person. Tughril dared not face his infuriated master and took to the jungles of Jajnagar. But his secret haunt was accidentally discovered by one of Balban's followers, and he was put to death. The angry king made an example of the relatives and adherents of Tughril. "He ordered all the sons and sons-in-law of Tughril, and all men who had served him or borne arms for him, to be slain and placed upon the gibbets" he had caused to be erected along the market-place of Lakhnawati. A mendicant was put to death with all his disciples because he had received great favours from the hated rebel. Barni, the historian, says that the "punishments went on during two or three days" and "the beholders were so horrified that they nearly died of fear". Such indeed must have been the intention of the king. He left for Delhi after appointing his second son, Bughra Khan, to the vacant governorship.

Death of Prince Muhammad.

In 1285 Balban's eldest son was killed in an ambush while fighting the Mughuls. The old man, now eighty years of age, was overwhelmed with grief and died two years later.

Character of Balban.

Though cruel and stern, Balban was a just and upright ruler. He made no allowance for the rank and wealth of the culprit in administering justice and inflicting punishment. The most highly placed nobles could not expect any exceptional treatment from him, and the country enojyed peace and prosperity during his reign. He was a strict upholder of kingly dignity and court etiquette and was never guilty of doing anything indecorous or undignified. As the Mughuls overran many of the Muslim countries, distinguished scholars and divines flocked to Delhi from many

quarters and so did most of the deposed princes. Delhi thus became the most important seat of Islamic learning. Among the contemporaries of Balban was Amir Khusrav surnamed the "Parrot of India". Had he been so inclined, Balban might have employed his powerful army in extending his territories but he preferred to use it for maintaining peace and order instead.

Kaiqubad :—Balban was succeeded by an inexperienced young man, Muiz-ud-din Kaiqubad, son of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Bughra. Kaiqubad was a vicious young man, and the stern discipline of his grandfather's days soon disappeared. Misrule led to confusion and faction, and Kaiqubad fell a victim to his own vices. He was unceremoniously put to death by the Khaljis, and Jalal-ud-din Firuz, their leader, founded a new line of rulers after putting to death Kayumars, the infant son of the last king. Thus the so-called Slave Dynasty came to an end, and for a time the Turkish nobles lost their predominance in India.

Extinction of the Slave Dynasty.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE KHALJI KINGS

Origin of the new Dynasty.

Jalal-ud-din Firuz :—The Khaljis were not Turks. Nor did they belong to the Afghan stock, if contemporaneous writers are to be credited. Stanley Lane-Poole suggests that they "were of Turkish origin but had become Afghan in character and between them and the Turks there was no love lost". Be that as it may, the political strife of the period brought them to power, and under their ascendancy the banner of Islam was carried across the Vindhyas and the greater part of the Deccan acknowledged Muslim sway.

Weakness of the new king.

Jalal-ud-din Firuz was an old man of seventy when a perverse fortune placed him on Balban's throne. He soon discovered that he was a misfit. "Pre-occupied with the preparations for the next world", he was averse to shedding human blood. A nephew of Balban rebelled against him but was forgiven. The king would not punish even common thieves and malefactors, and royal authority was everywhere set at nought and sedition and treason were openly talked. Such a man might make a good ruler in peaceful times, but copy-book maxims had no place in the politics of those days. Even this mild king once cruelly executed a holy man on mere suspicion of disloyalty. He permitted the Mughul invaders to settle in India and many of them were converted to Islam. It might be expected that a ruler of such peaceful disposition would die in his bed, but an ambitious nephew took advantage of his affection and kindness and murdered the unsuspecting

New Muslims.

old man while actually embracing his ungrateful relative. This happened in 1296 only six years after his elevation to the throne.

Ala-ud-din Khalji :—Ala-ud-din, the new king, had been brought up by his loving uncle from his early youth. So fond was Jalal-ud-din Firuz of this fatherless nephew that he made him his son-in-law as well. When Firuz became king of Delhi, he appointed Ala-ud-din to the government of Kara (in the district of Allahabad) and Oudh. It was from Kara that Ala-ud-din led a daring expedition to the Deccan. The Muslim soldiers were not yet familiar with the provinces beyond the Vindhyas but vague rumours of untold wealth had reached Ala-ud-din's ears. Accordingly he set out for the south with a select band of bold adventurers and suddenly appeared before Devagiri in Maharashtra in 1294. Ramchandradeva, the raja of that place, was not prepared for any invasion and he was taken completely by surprise. He, therefore, purchased the retreat of the Muslim leader with a huge sum of money. When the news of this wonderful exploit reached Delhi the king naturally expected his legitimate share of the rich spoil his nephew was bringing home. But Ala-ud-din had no intention of parting with his hard-earned wealth. The old man was led to believe that his nephew was afraid of his enemies at the court and might do something desperate unless his fears were promptly allayed. He hurried to meet his favourite nephew and in his blind confidence omitted to take the most ordinary precautions. He paid for his mistake with his life, and Ala-ud-din marched to Delhi at the head of his army. His enemies were disunited and a lavish use of gold brought the hesitating nobles to his side.

Expedition to Devagiri.

Murder of Jalal-ud-din.

In his aims and outlook the new king offered a striking contrast to his simple victim. Crafty and cruel,

Character of Ala-ud-din. Ala-ud-din was utterly unscrupulous in his methods, and his ambition knew no bounds. Whatever he did, he did with precision and thoroughness, and the country groaned under an unbearable tyranny during the twenty years of Ala-ud-din's reign (1296-1316). "He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of" ; not even helpless women and innocent children were spared. When the converted Mughuls attempted a rising, Ala-ud-din ordered a wholesale massacre and 15,000 to 30,000 were mercilessly slaughtered in one single day.

His Ambition. Such was the man who wanted to set up for a prophet and found a fresh religion. He also aspired to emulate the example of Alexander the Great and conquer the world. These absurd projects were wisely abandoned ; and the Sultan turned his attention to the reduction of Hindu kingdoms instead.

Rebellions. But the early years of his reign were full of troubles, external and internal. The Mughuls repeatedly invaded the country and on two occasions advanced as far as Delhi. Ambitious young men tried to follow in the footsteps of Ala-ud-din and secure the throne by murdering him. We read of no less than three rebellions during this period ; and on one occasion the Sultan was severely wounded and left for dead. The risings were suppressed with an iron hand and the king set himself furiously to explore their origin. He attributed all the evils of his time to excess of wealth, wine and frequent intermarriages among the noble families. Wine was therefore strictly prohibited, and the Sultan's own drinking cups were broken in pieces.

Tyrannical Statutes. The nobles could not meet in friendly parties without royal permission and intermarriage without his special leave was forbidden. Even the most trivial events were reported to him by an efficient body of spies. The king devised a scheme of excessively high

taxation to undo the evils of prosperity, and the unhappy Hindus suffered most. "No Hindu could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold or silver or of any superfluity was to be seen". "Driven by destitution, the wives of the *Khuts* and *Mukaddims* went and served for hire in the houses of Musulmans". Nor was this all. In order to reduce his military expenditure the Sultan fixed a price for every article and he tried to adjust the laws of demand and supply as best as he could. To what extent these arbitrary measures were successful we do not know, but so long as the Sultan retained his vigour, it may be reasonably surmised that his subjects knew no prosperity and happiness.

Misery of the Hindus.

The military record of this reign is brilliant. Ala-ud-din himself was a good soldier and among his officers were several men of first-rate ability. Zafar Khan and Nusrat Khan, Malik Kafur and Khvaja Haji deserve mention in this connexion.

Conquest of Gujarat.

In 1297 Ala-ud-din sent a strong army under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to reduce Gujarat. Raja Karnadeva II proved no match for the invaders. His kingdom was overrun by the Muslim army and the rich ports of Gujarat yielded an enormous booty. Among the captives were Kamala Devi, the handsome queen, who afterwards became the favourite wife of Ala-ud-din, and a beautiful young eunuch, Malik Kafur, who rose to be the most influential noble in the empire.

Kamala Devi.

Malik Kafur.

The reduction of Ranthambhor was by no means so easy. This stronghold had been reduced by Qutb and Iltutmish, but it again fell into the hands of the Rajputs and was now held by a very brave man, Hamir Deva. He had offended Ala-ud-din by giving asylum to some of his discontented officers. The first siege of Ranthambhor proved a failure. In 1301 the stronghold was captured after the defeat and death of

Reduction of Ranthambhor.

Hamir Deva, the siege operations being conducted by the Sultan in person.

Chitor and Padmini. In 1303 Chitor, the capital of Mewar, was captured. Ala-ud-din, it is said, was infatuated with Padmini, the beautiful wife of Rana Ratan Singh. But the Rajputs preferred death to disgrace, and the brave queen burnt herself to death rather than enter Ala-ud-din's harem. Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan, was appointed governor of Chitor but it was recovered by the Rajputs under Hamir when it became once more the capital of Mewar.

The military achievements of Ala-ud-din's army in Northern India were far surpassed by its exploits in the Deccan. In 1307 Malik Kafur reached Devagiri at the head of a formidable force and Ramchandradeva was reduced to the position of a vassal chief. A year later Kafur compelled Prataprudradeva, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal, to pay a heavy tribute. Then he proceeded against the Hoysala king of Dorasamudra and inflicted a heavy defeat on Vira Ballala III (1310). The Pandyas next felt the weight of the Muslim arms, and Kafur reached the southernmost extreme of India in 1310 when he built a mosque at Rameswaram. Ala-ud-din's empire was thus extended from the foot-hills of the Himalayas in the north to Adam's Bridge in the south. The son of Ramchandradeva did indeed once attempt to recover his independence; but the mighty Kafur had no difficulty in dispersing his forces, and the gallant prince paid for his daring with his life.

Devagiri raided.

Warangal.

Hoysalas of Dorasamudra.

Rebellion suppressed.

Last days of Ala-ud-din not happy. Apparently Ala-ud-din was at the height of his power and prosperity. But his last days were far from happy. The excesses of his youth at last told upon his iron constitution and he became a helpless invalid. He was alienated from his wife and children by the machinations of Kafur. The cruel tyrant became a mere puppet in the hands of his favourite eunuch, and

when he died people suspected that Kafur had hastened his end.

Qutb-ud-din Mubarak :—Kafur was as unscrupulous as his master and tried to rule the country in the name of a minor son of the late Sultan, Shihab-ud-din Umar. He murdered the near relatives of Ala-ud-din in order to serve his selfish end ; but his power lasted for thirty-five days only when he was put to death and Qutb-ud-din Mubarak, another son of Ala-ud-din, was raised to the throne.

Murder of Kafur.

The new reign opened with some success. The Sultan led an expedition to Devagiri and suppressed the rebellion of Harpaldeva, a son-in-law of Ramchandradeva. But Mubarak soon afterwards abandoned himself to pleasure and vice and left the administration in the hands of a low-caste convert from Gujarat. Khusrav, the king's favourite, shamelessly pandered to the vices of his master with the design of supplanting him. He had the palace surrounded by his friends and kinsmen. Such was his hold on the unfortunate young man that his plans were openly discussed, but the king paid no attention to the warnings of his friends. In 1320 Khusrav murdered his trusting master and became king of Delhi. The Khalji dynasty thus came to an ignoble end ; and an outcast parwari sat on the throne of the mighty Ala-ud-din. The new king assumed the title of Nasir-ud-din and he conferred high offices and titles on his low-born friends. He tried to win over the support of the Muslim nobility by a lavish use of money but his treatment of the ladies of the fallen family naturally disgusted them. At last the discontented party found a leader in Ghazi Malik Tughluq, the governor of Dipalpur in the Punjab. The veterans of the frontier force found no difficulty in scattering the undisciplined followers of the usurper, who was beheaded by Ghazi Malik. The victorious general

Expedition to Devagiri.

Usurpation of Khusrav.

Qarauniyyah Turks.

ascended the throne with the common consent of his brother officers. He was a Qarauniyyah Turk, according to Ibn Batutah ; and Marco Polo explains the term "as meaning 'of mixed breed', 'the offspring of a Turkish father and an Indian mother' ". We learn from other sources that Ghazi Malik's family intermarried with Jats of noble birth, and the new dynasty can, therefore, be regarded as indigenous.

CHAPTER XIX

HOUSE OF TUGHLUQ

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah :—Ghazi Malik, or Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah, as he was now styled, was elderly when he was called to the throne. As governor of Dipalpur he had given evidence of ability and vigour. His colleagues and friends were not disappointed in him, and he did his best to undo the evils of the lax government of his predecessors. Discipline was enforced in every department of administration, order was restored in the country, the burden of taxation was considerably lightened and agriculture, the main industry of the land, improved. Tughluq Shah reorganised the postal system. The turmoils of the preceding reigns had encouraged the Hindu chiefs of the Deccan to make a fresh bid for independence and an expedition was sent under the king's eldest son, Fakr-ud-din Muhammad Jauna, against Prataprudradeva, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal. The mud walls of Warangal were defended by the Hindus with resolution and bravery, and pestilence broke out among the besiegers. Jauna had to return to Delhi without achieving any thing ; but a second expedition under the same prince proved more successful and the Hindu ruler was captured with his nobles and children (1323). A civil war in Bengal among the descendants of Balban demanded the presence of the king in that province of chronic troubles, where the authority of Delhi was once more established. On his return to Delhi, the king was received in a wooden pavilion by Prince Jauna. The structure collapsed either by accident, or if Ibn Batutah

Achievements of Tughluq Shah I.

Reduction of Warangal.

The king's death. was correctly informed, by a clever contrivance and Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah died with his favourite son (1325). About the same time died Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, a celebrated saint of Delhi and the famous poet Amir Khusrav.

Muhammad bin Tughluq :—Prince Jauna succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi as a matter of course. It is not easy to place this extraordinary king. What was he? A lunatic or a genius? An idealist or a visionary? A benevolent ruler or a bloodthirsty tyrant? A sound mathematician, a clever logician, a profound philosopher and a devoted student of the physical sciences, Muhammad son of Tughluq was undoubtedly one of the most versatile scholars of his day. He was a perfect master of style and an excellent calligraphist. His beautiful coins testify to his artistic taste. He has been described as the most experienced general of his time and his military record was by no means discreditable. He lost few campaigns and his victories were many. Generous by instinct, he was lavish in his gifts. Nor was he deficient in humility and kindly instinct. Ibn Batutah, a Muslim traveller from Morocco, who visited India during Muhammad's reign, and was appointed Chief Qazi of Delhi by that king, has left the following estimate of his character: "This king is of all men the fondest of making gifts and of shedding blood. His gate is never without some poor man enriched or some living man executed, and stories are current amongst the people of his generosity and courage and of his cruelty and violence towards criminals. For all that, he is of all men the most humble and the readiest to show equity and justice". Yet during the twenty-six years of his reign the country hardly knew any peace or order. His extravagant schemes of conquest caused immense loss of men and money; and his currency reform proved a complete failure. Though he exerted

The new king, a bundle of contradictions.

his utmost to quell disturbance and put down disorder his empire went to pieces before he died ; and his successor ruled over a mere fragment of the once great empire of Delhi.

Character of Muhammad. The schemes of Muhammad, son of Tughluq, were usually sound in theory but impracticable in application. Hot-tempered and hasty, he could not brook opposition ; and it does not appear that he often permitted his plans to be scrutinised by candid critics. He failed to take account of public sentiment and accused his people of perversity. A modern apologist argues that he was thwarted by the conservative elements among the Muslim theologians. His failure may have been exaggerated, but even Ibn Batutah, a friendly foreigner, gives numerous instances of his inhuman cruelty. Muhammad forgot that even benefits cannot be forced on an unwilling or unenlightened people, and much of his failure must be attributed to his ignorance of human nature.

Excessive Taxation. Muhammad began his rule with excessive taxation and cultivation suffered in consequence. In those days there was no lack of arable land and whenever the assessment was not to the cultivators' liking they abandoned their tenements and shifted elsewhere. Muhammad thought that he knew how to bring recalcitrant tenants back to their labour and found a sovereign remedy for every evil in force. He let loose his soldiers upon the poor peasants and they were hunted like wild beasts. "The reprisals ordered by the king converted one of the richest and most fertile provinces of the kingdom into the seat of a war between the royal troops and the inhabitants".

Transfer of capital. The king's decision to transfer his capital from Delhi to Devagiri was not perhaps so foolish as it has commonly been represented. The Deccan was a recent addition to the kingdom and therefore demanded closer

attention from the king. He spared no pains to make the new city a fitting abode for his officers and subjects. A spacious road lined with shady trees was constructed for the convenience of immigrants. So far he had proceeded on the right lines. But when the citizens of Delhi made fun of their king for this unpopular measure, which hurt their sentiments, he grew furious and compelled everybody to leave for the new capital. We need not seriously accept Ibn Batutah's story of a blind man being dragged by his feet to Devagiri or Daulatabad, as Muhammad preferred to call his new capital, and a bed-ridden invalid being projected there by a ballista ; but the sufferings of the poor people of Delhi must have been great, and the measure was all the more unjustifiable as Muhammad ultimately recognised his error and reversed his decision.

Dreams of universal conquest.

Like Ala-ud-din Khalji, Muhammad also dreamt of universal conquest. He mobilised a huge army for the conquest of Khurasan and Iraq. The scheme had to be abandoned for lack of funds. As Barni tells us, "the coveted countries were not acquired....and his treasure, which is the true source of political power, was expended".

It is more than doubtful whether the Sultan ever entertained the foolish idea of conquering Tibet and China. Barni, the contemporary historian, tells us that he formed the design "of capturing the mountain of Kara-jal", "which lies between the territories of Hind and those of China". According to Ibn Batutah, this country is "situated at a distance of ten stages from Delhi". The expedition was evidently directed against some turbulent tribes living near the lower range of the Himalayas or Himachal. Although the army suffered terribly, the expedition succeeded in its immediate objective, and the hillmen were compelled to come to terms.

Expedition to the Lower Himalayas.

Copper tokens.

No innovation of this versatile ruler caused so much loss to the treasury as the issue of copper tokens. Paper currency was already in force in China. Muhammad's plan to use copper instead of paper was not unsound in theory. But he was much in advance of his time and his people did not understand the real significance of this measure. The king moreover failed to take proper precautions against forgery and a large number of counterfeit copper tokens obtained currency. "Every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop, and the treasury was filled with these copper coins. So low did they fall that they were not valued more than pebbles and potsherd". The Sultan recognised his failure and repealed his edict. He paid for every copper coin brought to the treasury at its face value but the loss to the public funds must have been immense.

Rebellions.

The mad projects of Muhammad caused untold misery and sufferings to his people and popular discontent found expression in repeated rebellions. The early risings were suppressed with comparative ease and the insurgents were punished with revolting cruelty. Baha-ud-din Gurshasp, a cousin of the Sultan, rose in rebellion in the second year of his reign. "He was flayed alive. His flesh was cooked with rice and offered to the elephants, after portions of it had been sent to his wife and children, and his skin was stuffed with straw and exhibited in the principal cities of the kingdom". The accomplices of the next insurgent, Malik Bahram Aiba of Sind, were flayed alive. But these barbarities failed in their object. The appointment of low-born favourites to the provincial governments and transfer of popular governors from their old provinces led to fresh troubles. Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah declared his independence in Ma'bar. But sickness prevented Muhammad from reducing him to submission. His persecution of the centurions (*amiran-i-sada,* com-

Kingdom of Ma'bar (Madura).

Troubles Every-where.

manders of hundred) as a class added to his difficulties and rebellion broke out everywhere. The Hindus again raised their heads in the Deccan where the Muslim officers had also renounced their allegiance to Delhi. The ruler of Bengal declared his independence and disturbances broke out in Gujarat. Muhammad was unable to cope with the situation. When he inflicted a severe defeat on the rebels in one quarter, news of a fresh rising arrived from another. He hastened to the new scene of trouble and the rebels elsewhere recouped their strength. When thus occupied in an endless chase in Gujarat and Sind, Muhammad breathed his last near Tattah in March, 1351. "And so", as Budauni observes, "the king was freed from his people and they from their king".

Firuz bin Rajab :—The leaderless army forced the crown on Firuz son of Rajab, a cousin of the deceased king. His title to the throne was not probably very strong and he was reluctant to accept the responsibility of government at such a crisis. But his friends ultimately induced him to accept their leadership and Firuz marched to Delhi. He was a mild-tempered man with kindly instincts. He made no serious attempts to recover the lost provinces and his military successes were but few. He defeated the rebels of Sind and reduced the fortress of Nagarkot. But his two expeditions to Bengal proved ineffective and he practically acknowledged the independence of the new dynasty founded by Shams-ud-din Iliyas Shah. Though his mother was a Hindu princess, Firuz was a determined Muhammadan. He imposed the Jizya on the Brahmanas who had been thus far exempted. He would not permit Hindus to perform their religious rites in public and burnt a Brahmana alive for that offence. But in justice to him it should be noted that if he persecuted his Hindu

Unsuccessful Expeditions to Bengal.

Intolerance of Firuz.

subjects he did not treat more leniently those Muslims whom he regarded as heretics.

Reforms of Firuz.

In spite of all his shortcomings Firuz may be regarded as a good and benevolent ruler. He abolished many vexatious cesses and taxes and forbade the mutilation of offenders. As he himself says—"In the reigns of former kings...amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses ; tearing out of the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder ; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musalmans, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men". He was a great builder and built many mosques, colleges and monasteries. For the relief of the indigent sick he built a hospital to which was attached a suitable staff of physicians. For the improvement of agriculture he constructed a system of irrigation canals and he beautified the city of Delhi by a new suburb and many gardens. Agriculture improved under his fostering care and the prosperity of the kingdom increased in spite of its reduced area. We do not know to what extent the Sultan was indebted for his success to his famous minister, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, a converted Hindu. The last days of Firuz were far from peaceful. With his advancing age the administration declined in efficiency and the king had to share his authority with his sons. Civil war commenced while he was still alive and fighting took place in the very streets of Delhi. When Firuz died (1388) the government was under the control of a grandson. With him "closes

Firuz, a great builder.

the most brilliant epoch of Muslim rule in India before the reign of Akbar".

Puppet kings.

The Successors of Firuz :—The successors of Firuz were all weak and inefficient. Their authority was confined to a narrow strip of territory round Delhi, and the throne was frequently claimed by two or more rivals. The nominal king was usually a puppet in the hands of ambitious nobles ; and the principal officers of the state wasted their energy and resources in civil strife and selfish intrigues. When the strength of the monarchy was thus undermined, India was invaded by one of the most terrible soldiers known to history.

Timur :—Amir Timur, king of Samarqand, invaded India in 1398. Although Delhi was under a Muslim government Timur affected to treat it as a country of infidels. He was really actuated by a greed for wealth and not religious zeal. The Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy but were hopelessly beaten. Timur had no regard for human life and when he appeared in the neighbourhood of Delhi he butchered one hundred thousand prisoners in cold blood. The Delhi force under Mallu Khan was hopelessly out-generalled and the city was given up to pillage and rapine. When the terrible invaders departed, "such a famine and pestilence fell upon the capital that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi". In the midst of this general calamity the House of Tughluq came to an inconspicuous end and the sceptre of Delhi passed to other hands.

Sack of Delhi.

When Timur occupied Delhi, Mahmud, the last representative of the House of Tughluq, ran away to Gujarat. The *de jure* suzerain was naturally unwelcome at a provincial court, and Mahmud Shah sought the hospitality of the ruler of Malwa after experiencing

many humiliations in Gujarat. Ultimately he returned to his old capital to play the phantom king once more under the tutelage of that ambitious noble, Mallu Iqbal Khan. After a nominal reign of nearly twenty years he died in 1413 and with him the dynasty founded by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah came to an end.

Last king of the Line.

CHAPTER XX

THE SAYYIDS AND THE LODIS

The So-called Sayyids :—After Mahmud's death, Daulat Khan Lodi, the most powerful noble of his court, became for a short interval the acknowledged head of the government of Delhi. His power lasted for a few months only and Delhi was occupied by Khizr Khan, governor of Multan, in 1414. Khizr Khan claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet and the dynasty founded by him has been styled as the Sayyid dynasty. But his claim seems to be founded on a very doubtful basis, though his ancestors might have originally hailed from Arabia. Khizr Khan never assumed the insignia of royalty and was content to exercise authority in the names of Timur and his son. He ruled over a mere fragment of the former kingdom of Delhi. Bengal, Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan had one by one seceded from the empire and a powerful kingdom had been founded by the Hindus of the south. The once great empire had gradually shrunk into a small principality and the authority of the Sultan was confined to a few districts adjoining Delhi. Even here his power was often challenged by the turbulent Hindu Zemindars of Etawah, Katehr, Kanauj, Patiali and Kampila and the rulers of Delhi had much to do to suppress the chronic troubles in these parts. The Khokars became stronger and stronger ; and Jasrat, their chief, confidently aspired to build a Hindu power on the ruins of the Muslim Kingdom. Hindu nobles rose to prominence and influence even in the court of Delhi, and some of

Khizr Khan

Rise of the Hindus.

them took a leading part in the conspiracy against the life of Khizr Khan's son and successor, Muizz-ud-din Mubarak. The four rulers of this dynasty held the government of Delhi for thirty-seven years. In 1451 Ala-ud-din, the last and weakest of this feeble line, made an inglorious exit in favour of Buhlul Lodi, who ascended the throne of Delhi, the first Afghan or Pathan to attain that honour.

Fall of the Dynasty.

The Lodis :—Buhlul came from a fighting stock and was a man of unlimited ambition. From a humble beginning he rose to be king of Delhi and although the crown was shorn of much of its old prestige and power, it was no mean achievement for the orphan nephew of an insignificant Afghan chief. He waged a successful war against the neighbouring kingdom of Jaunpur and appointed his son, Barbak Shah, viceroy of the newly annexed principality. As a ruler and military leader Buhlul was incomparably superior to his immediate predecessors. He succeeded in infusing some vigour into the government and he was loyally supported by his near relatives and fellow tribesmen who shared with him his power and prosperity.

Buhlul Lodi.

Sikandar Lodi:—Buhlul was succeeded in 1489 by his second surviving son, Nizam Khan, who assumed the title of Sultan Sikandar Shah. Sikandar was the ablest of the three rulers of this line, but his succession was by no means undisputed. He defeated his brother Barbak Shah, deprived him of his government of Jaunpur and extended the kingdom in the east as far as the confines of Bengal. A strong ruler, he would not tolerate the insubordination of the provincial governors, nor would he permit the Zemindars to defy the royal authority. Good government led to peace and prosperity ; and the necessaries of life became very cheap. An upright man, he administered justice with strict impartiality and even the poorest of his

Disputed succession.

A strong king.

Religious Intolerance. subjects could carry his complaints to the Sultan in person. But with all these qualities of head and heart, Sikandar Lodi was an intolerant bigot and treated the Hindus with undue harshness. They were not permitted the free performance of their religious rites, praticularly at their holy places of pilgrimage. The Sultan ordered the temples of Mathura to be demolished and a Brahman was executed because he had the hardihood to assert that all religions ultimately led to God.

Ibrahim Lodi:—Sikandar died in 1517 and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim. The new ruler was not devoid of military skill, but lack of good sense and moderation proved his undoing. Early in his reign, some of the Afghan nobles set up another prince of the Lodi family, Jalal Khan, as a competitor for the throne. Ibrahim succeeded in putting down this rebellion. But he alienated a large number of the nobles by his cruelty and unjust persecution. This led to fresh troubles but Ibrahim further embittered the discontented nobles by his failure to pursue a policy of conciliation after the rising had been quelled. At last the nobles of Bihar declared their independence under Darya Khan Lohani, and Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of Lahore, invited Babur, king of Kabul, to invade India. Babur readily responded and met Ibrahim at the famous field of Panipat. The Delhi force was by far the larger, but the invaders had better arms and superior leadership. Babur easily outgeneralled his adversary and won a decisive victory. Ibrahim died valiantly fighting for his throne (1526), which once more passed to a Turkish dynasty. For Babur called himself a Turk and not a Mughul, and though his mother came from the family of Chingiz Khan, his father was a direct descendant of the famous Timur.

General Discontent.

First Battle of Panipat.

CHAPTER XXI

INDEPENDENT DYNASTIES IN THE PROVINCES

Dismemberment of the first Muslim Empire of Delhi.

Decline of the Sultanate of Delhi:—At this time the kingdom of Delhi was but a shadow of its former self. Disintegration had begun in the stormy days of Muhammad son of Tughluq and became complete when Timur gave the feeble government its *coup de grâce.* Buhlul and Sikandar had done their best to recover some of the lost districts, but the reduction of the major kingdoms was beyond their power. It was left to the Timurid princes to bring the independent provinces under the control of Delhi once again. A brief account of the provincial dynasties may, therefore, be attempted here before we resume the history of the new rulers of India.

Bengal:—One of the earliest provinces to assert independence was Bengal. Its wealth and inaccessibility alike tempted it to rebel ; and we have already seen how Iltutmish and Ghiyas-ud-din Balban had to suppress risings there. The descendants of Balban ruled the province as virtually independent princes until the authority of Delhi was once again asserted by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah I. Muhammad son of Tughluq divided the province into three parts, to be ruled by three governors independently of one another. But this proved no remedy, and Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah proclaimed his independence at Sonargaon (1338-1339), while Ala-ud-din Ali Shah rose in rebellion in Western Bengal. Ultimately

Descendants of Balban.

Partition of Bengal.

Shams-ud-din Iliyas Shah became the independent ruler of the entire province, and, with his descendants, held the government for the next seventy years (1345—1414). During his reign Firuz Shah bin Rajab of Delhi made a serious effort to recover Bengal and invaded the province in person. But Shams-ud-din took shelter in the mud fort of Ikdala, and Firuz retreated without effecting anything. A second attempt made by Firuz during the reign of Sikandar, son of Shams-ud-din, met with no better results. Sikandar's son, Ghiyas-ud-din Azam, was probably the ablest prince of his line. He is best known to history as the correspondent of the great poet, Hafiz. About 1410, a Brahman Zamindar of Bhaturia and Dinajpur, Raja Ganesh, rose to power. According to the Muslim chroniclers, he ruled Bengal as an independent sovereign and was succeeded by his son Jadu, who afterwards embraced Islam and assumed the title of Jalal-ud-din. Many of Jalal-ud-din's coins have been preserved ; but not a single coin bearing the name of Ganesh has been discovered. It has, therefore, been suggested that Ganesh did not assume full regal power but ruled the province in the name of some Muslim puppets. A recent writer on the subject is inclined to identify Ganesh with Danujamardan Deva, a mysterious king about whom we know little, but of whose coins at least ten struck at the widely distant mints of Pandua, Suvarnagrama and Chittagong, and bearing Sanskrit legends in Bengali character, have come down to us. Be that as it may, the line of Ganesh did not endure long, and power was once more seized by a representative of the Iliyas Shahi dynasty. In 1486 an Abyssinian eunuch usurped the throne after assassinating the king. The brief spell of Abyssinian rule was marked by tyranny and disorder, and in

Failure of Firuz.

Ghiyas-ud-din Azam.

Ganesh, the restorer of Hindu rule, 1414.

Danuja-mardan, 1417-18.

Abyssinian Rulers.

1493 the nobles elected Sayyid Husain king of Bengal. Husain Shah was an enlightened ruler and one of the most popular princes that occupied the throne of Bengal. He suppressed the growing power of the palace guards and expelled the Africans from the province. He extended his kingdom as far as the borders of Orissa and invaded Kamtapur in Koch Bihar. His son Nusrat Shah was a great patron of Bengali literature. Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud, the last king of this line, was expelled from Bengal by Sher Khan Sur. Bengal was held by a Pathan ruler, Daud Khan of the Kararani family, when it was annexed by Akbar in 1576.

Husain Shah.

Nusrat Shah.

Jaunpur:—The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firuz bin Rajab and named after his cousin and patron, Muhammad Jauna. In 1394 Khvaja Jahan, a powerful noble of Delhi, established himself at Jaunpur. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sharqi dynasty after his title *Malik-ush-Sharq* or lord of the east. In 1399 Khvaja Jahan was succeeded by his adopted son, who assumed the title of Mubarak Shah. The most powerful king of this dynasty was Ibrahim Shah, who ruled for about forty years. After a lengthy war Buhlul Lodi expelled Husain Shah, the last Sharqi king, from his ancestral domains and annexed Jaunpur. The Sharqi rulers were great patrons of learning and art. The buildings of Jaunpur bear indubitable evidence of Hindu influence, and the mosques lack minarets of the usual type. One of the best specimens of Jaunpur style is the Atala Devi mosque.

Khvaja Jahan.

Ibrahim Shah.

Jaunpur School of Architecture.

Malwa:—Malwa was first annexed to the kingdom of Delhi by Ala-ud-din Khalji. Like other provincial rulers Dilavar Khan Ghuri, the governor of Malwa, took advantage of the growing weakness of the central government and became independent for all

Dilavar Khan Ghuri.

practical purposes, though he did not renounce his allegiance to Delhi or assume the style of royalty. He was poisoned by his son who ascended the throne

Hushang Shah.

under the title of Hushang Shah. The parricide was a man of restless spirit and delighted in war and adventure. Once he left his capital in the guise of a merchant and surprised the unsuspecting Raja of Orissa who had to purchase his liberty with seventy-five elephants. His reign forms an unbroken record of war. He fought against his neighbours of Delhi and Gujarat and once measured his strength with Ahmad Shah Bahmani, but his campaigns were seldom successful. Hushang died in 1435 and was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad Shah, a worthless tyrant. He was removed by poison and a new dynasty was

The Khalji Sultans.

founded by his murderer, Mahmud Khan, who claimed to be of the royal house of the Khaljis. Mahmud Khalji was a good soldier and fought against Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, Sayyid Muhammad Shah of Delhi, Muhammad Shah III Bahmani and Rana Kumbha of Mewar. Strangely enough, both the Rana and the Khalji King of Malwa claimed victory ; while the former built a lofty tower at Chitor, the latter constructed a seven-storeyed column to commemorate his success. "Sultan Mahmud was polite, brave, just and learned". His son, Ghiyas-ud-din, was a peace-loving prince and a devout Mussulman. The next king, Nasir-ud-din, was a cruel man who had secured the throne by poisoning his father. During the reign of Mahmud II, the government fell under the control of Medini Rai, a powerful Rajput chief ; and Hindus were appointed

Nasir-ud-din the Parricide.

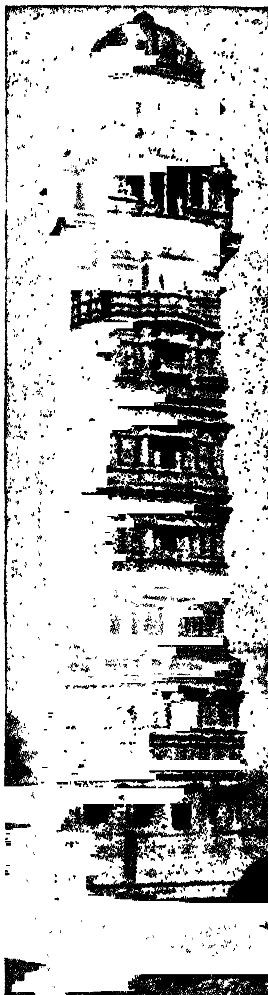
Hindu Ascendancy.

to the principal offices of trust and responsibility. The Muslim nobles tried to overthrow the Hindu minister with the aid of their co-religionists from Gujarat, but Medini Rai had the powerful support of Rana Sanga of Chitor. The Muslim army was

utterly routed, and the Sultan was captured by the victorious Rajputs. But Sanga treated him with a chivalrous courtesy worthy of the best traditions of his race. The Rana wisely refrained from annexing the conquered principality, but the days of its independence were counted. In 1531 Malwa was reduced by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. It was later occupied for a short period by Babur's son, Humayun. An independent sovereignty was again founded in Malwa by one Mallu Khan, but he was deposed by Sher Shah. In 1561 Malwa was conquered for Akbar by Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad from its Pathan ruler, Baj Bahadur.

Malwa Annexed to Gujarat.

Conquered by Sher Shah and Akbar.



The Tower of Victory, Chitor

Gujarat :—The wealth of Gujarat has always been the envy of other provinces. The country is extremely fertile, and its rich ports have been a source of immense revenue. The kingdom, like Malwa, had been first subdued by Ala-ud-din Khalji. It continued to be a province of the Delhi Sultanate until the assumption of independence by Zafar Khan, the son of a

Zafar Khan, Muzaffar Shah.

Rajput convert, who was appointed governor in 1391. For a while he was replaced by his son, who assumed the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah ; but Zafar recovered his power before long and ascended the throne under the title of Muzuffar Shah. He waged a successful war against Malwa and captured Dhar. The next king, Ahmad Shah, built the beautiful city of Ahmadabad which he made his capital. He subdued the neighbouring Rajput chiefs and greatly extended his kingdom. The most notable king of this line was Mahmud Begarha, who ruled for fifty-two years (1458—1511) and was one of the greatest warriors of his age. He reduced the strong forts of Junagadh and Champaner, overran Cutch and chastised the Hindus of Kathiawar. He made common cause with the Turks against the rising sea power of the Portuguese. His naval enterprise was at first successful and the Portuguese suffered a severe defeat near Chaul (1508) ; but they soon recovered their naval ascendancy and inflicted a crushing defeat on the allied fleet near Diu (1509). Mahmud came to terms with the Portuguese and permitted them to build a factory at Diu. Mahmud "was mild and just to his own servants" and "whether for abounding justice and generosity ; for success in religious war ; and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam ; for soundness of judgment alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age ; for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence". Like many great Muslim rulers, Mahmud was a bigot and treated his Hindu subjects with intolerance. He was equally remarkable for his valour and enormous appetite. His breakfast consisted of "a cup of honey, a cup of butter and from 100 to 150 bananas". "His daily allowance was between twenty and thirty pounds in weight, and before going to sleep he placed two pounds or more of boiled rice

Ahmad Shah.

Mahmud Begarha.

Fights the Portuguese.

on either side of his couch, so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he awoke". The next ruler who deserves our notice is Bahadur Shah, a grandson of Mahmud Begarha. He was a good soldier like his grandfather and not only annexed Malwa but thoroughly worsted the old enemy of his house, the Rajput Rana of Mewar, whose territories were overrun and whose capital was reduced. But his good fortune forsook him in his wars against Humayun; and Bahadur lost not only the newly conquered province of Malwa but the greater portion of his ancestral kingdom also. The Delhi force was at last compelled to retreat, but Bahadur was soon afterwards drowned in the harbour of Diu. Anarchy and confusion followed Bahadur's death (1537); and party strife led to the annexation of Gujarat by Akbar in 1572. **Bahadur Shah.**

The Bahmani Kingdom :—Of all the provincial dynasties, that of the Bahmani kings of the south was by far the most powerful. When the nobles of the Deccan were driven to rebellion by the mad tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughluq, they chose one Ismail Mukh as their leader, but Ismail proved unequal to his new office and voluntarily made room for a man of sterner stuff. Hasan, entitled Zafar Khan, the new leader of the Deccan rebels, proclaimed himself king under the title of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah, for he claimed the famous Persian hero Bahman for his ancestor, and the dynasty he founded became known as the Bahmani dynasty. The current story that Hasan was originally a menial in the service of a Delhi Brahmana and owed his later promotion to the patronage of his Hindu master seems to be without any basis. The success of the new king was rapid and decisive, and his authority was established over a vast tract of land extending from the Konkan coast on the west to **Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah.**

the confines of Warangal on the east and from Berar on the north to the Krishna on the south. The Krishna-Tungabhadra *doab* was a perpetual cause of quarrel between the Bahmani kings and their Hindu rivals of Vijayanagar. Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah had his capital at Gulbarga and divided his kingdom into four provinces. The Hindu chieftains proved a source of great trouble to him but they were reduced to submission ; and Ala-ud-din left to his successors a compact and well organised kingdom.

Blood-stained History of the Dynasty.

The blood-stained annals of this dynasty are by no means pleasant reading. The Bahmani kings were mostly men of ruthless ferocity who delighted in bloodshed and rapine. Their war with Vijayanagar is characterised by inhuman massacres in which no discrimination was made of age or sex. At home there was no end of political conspiracy and palace intrigues. Of the fourteen kings of this line no fewer than four came to a violent end, two were deposed and blinded and two died of excessive drinking.

Firuz Shah Bahmani.

The eighth king, Firuz Shah, has been praised as "a good, just and generous king who supported himself by copying the Quran". Though a staunch Muslim, he was not immune from the common vices of his time, and was guilty of hard drinking and maintaining a big harem. He was a good linguist and, it is said, could freely converse with his wives of diverse nationalities in their own tongues. Like his predecessors, he was engaged in unceasing war with the Rajas of Vijayanagar. Twice he overthrew the forces of his Hindu adversary and compelled him to give him a princess of Vijayanagar in marriage ; but his third campaign ended in failure. He survived this defeat for a few years only and is said to have been strangled by his brother.

Ahmad Shah, as was to be expected, carried on the war against Vijayanagar. He conquered Warangal and transferred the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. Humayun, the grandson of Ahmad, was a monster of cruelty and when he died a contemporary versifier gave expression to the general sense of relief in the following lines:

Ahmad Shah.

Humayun:

"Humayun Shah has passed away from the world,

God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humayun!

On the date of his death the world was full of delight,

So, 'delight of the world' gives the date of his death".

The nobles of the Bahmani kingdom were now divided into two rival factions. The Deccani Muhammadans and their Abyssinian colleagues were strongly opposed to the Arabs, Turks, Persians and Mughuls, who formed the foreign party. Their jealousy was further accentuated by their religious differences, for, while the majority of the Deccanis were Sunnis, the great bulk of the rival faction consisted of Shiahs. But the latter had an excellent leader in Khvaja Mahmud Gawan, an able administrator and consummate politician who had served as prime minister under three successive kings. He had rendered valuable services to the state and was fully entitled to the gratitude of his master. But his enemies procured his death sentence from Muhammad Shah III, a hopeless drunkard, by producing a forged letter. The great minister was executed by his enemies and "with him departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom". The kingdom survived in name till 1526-27, but the last kings were mere puppets in

Political Factions.

Mahmud Gawan.

the hands of Qasim Barid and his son Amir Ali, "the Fox of the Deccan".

Five Sultanates.

The kingdom broke up into five independent principalities, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkonda, Berar and Bidar. Of these Berar was the first to secede. Fathullah Imad Shah, a converted Hindu, asserted his independence in 1484* and founded the Imad Shahi dynasty. The founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur was Yusuf Adil Shah, who began his career as a slave but was believed to be of the ruling family of Constantinople. He declared his independence in 1489-90. In 1490 Malik Ahmad, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bâhri, sprung from the hereditary Brahmana revenue officials of Pathri, defeated Mahmud Bahmani. With him begins the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. Golkonda became independent in 1512 or 1518 under Quli Qutb Shah. The remnant of the kingdom had long been under the control of Amir Barid, but he did not dispense with his puppet kings till 1526-27 when the Barid Shahi Sultanate may be said to have commenced. These five principalities were constantly at war with one another and with the Hindu state of Vijayanagar. In 1574 Berar was annexed by Ahmadnagar and in 1618-19 Bijapur absorbed Bidar. Ahmadnagar was dismembered by Akbar, but the annexation was not completed till the reign of his grandson, Shahjahan. The remaining two Sultanates of the Deccan survived till the days of Aurangzib.

Reduced to Three.

Condition of the Bahmani kingdom.

Thanks to the notes left by a Russian traveller, Athanasius Nikitin, who visited the country in the seventies of the 15th century, we have a glimpse of the condition of the common people under the

* 1490 according to some writers.

Bahmani kingdom. The country was over-populated and abounded in riches but the distribution of wealth was very uneven. While the nobles had the best of everything, the tillers of the soil dragged on a miserable existence. The courtiers were carried in silver palanquins preceded by a numerous retinue of musicians, torch-bearers, hornmen, horsemen and footmen. The Sultan and his officers maintained a huge army. "The Sultan goes out hunting with his mother and his lady, and a train of 10,000 men on horseback, 50,000 on foot; 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, and in front 100 horsemen, 100 dancers, and 300 common horses in golden clothing". The lands were well cultivated and the roads were safe. The Bahmani rulers tried to improve agriculture and encouraged learning and education according to their lights.

Early History.

Kingdom of Vijayanagar :—The early history of Vijayanagar is lost in obscurity. According to the current tradition, five sons of one Sangama, of whom Harihara and Bukka are most prominently mentioned, founded the city and kingdom of Vijayanagar with a view to checking the growing power of the Muslims in the south. They were inspired in their enterprise by a famous Brahmana scholar of the day, Madhava Vidyaranya. Father Heras, the latest writer on the subject, however, thinks that the tradition is a later fabrication and found currency in the sixteenth century. According to him, the city which formed the cradle of the kingdom was founded by the Hoysala King Vira Ballala III; and Harihara I, son of Sangama, a near relative of the royal family, had his headquarters there. The first dynasty of Vijayanagar claimed Yadava origin, and is usually named after Sangama. Harihara I and Bukka I did not, in the opinion of some, assume royal titles though their kingdom extended from sea

Yadava Dynasty.

to sea. In 1374 Bukka sent an embassy to the emperor of China. He died shortly afterwards. His son Harihara II undoubtedly assumed the title of Maharajadhiraja. The history of Vijayanagar, like that of the Bahmani kingdom, forms an unbroken record of sanguinary wars. Deva Raya I suffered serious reverses in his wars against Firuz Shah Bahmani who advanced as far as the precincts of the Hindu capital and mercilessly ravaged the open country. Deva Raya II employed Muhammadan horsemen in his army, but met with no better success in his war with his Muslim neighbours.

Deva Raya I.

Muslim Mercenaries.

In 1485 or 1486 the Sangama dynasty was overthrown, and the throne was usurped by Narasinha Saluva, the powerful governor of Chandragiri. His dynasty did not last long and came to an end about 1505. It was after him that the Portuguese styled Vijayanagar the kingdom of Narsinga.

Narasinha Saluva.



Krishnadeva Raya and his Queens

The third dynasty, designated the Tuluva, was

The Tuluva Dynasty.

founded by Narasa Nayaka. The greatest king of this line was Krishnadeva Raya. He was a great warrior, good king and generous patron of learning. He recovered the fortress of Raichur in 1520 from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, whose capital was occupied by the Hindu army. He razed Gulbarga to the ground and inflicted a severe defeat on the Hindu Raja of Orissa. Krishnadeva Raya died in 1529 or 1530 after a glorious reign of about twenty years. "He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry", writes a contemporary Portuguese chronicler. "He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage. He is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has in fact nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things". Though himself a Vaishnava, "he respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike", and as the late Mr. Krishna Sastri says, he was "the greatest of the South Indian monarchs, who sheds a lustre on the pages of history".

Krishna-deva Raya.

Portuguese estimate of Krishna-deva Raya.

Krishnadeva Raya was succeeded by two weak kings, Achyuta Raya and Sadasiva Raya. The latter was a puppet in the hands of his powerful minister, Rama Raja, who was the real head of the government. In 1558 Rama Raja formed an alliance with Bijapur and invaded the territories of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. The haughty minister treated the defeated Sultan with such contempt and discourtesy that the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan, with the exception of that of Berar, combined against Vijayanagar. The huge Hindu army was defeated with great slaughter in the so-called battle of Talikota (really Rakshas Tagdi) and Rama Raja was beheaded (1565). The victors then entered

Rama Raja.

Talikota.

the Hindu capital and deliberately destroyed the stately buildings and rich temples.

The Aravidu Dynasty.

About 1570 the fourth dynasty (Aravidu) was founded by Rama Raja's brother at Penugonda. The capital was later transferred to Chandragiri. But the subordinate chiefs asserted their independence one after another, and the once powerful kings of Vijayanagar sank into insignificance.

Condition of Vijayanagar.

Foreign travellers have left glowing accounts of the wealth and splendour of Vijayanagar and its kings. Nicolo Conti, an Italian traveller, who visited the city during the reign of Deva Raya II or his grandfather (1420), says that the city was sixty miles in circumference and had ninety thousand men capable of bearing arms.

Abdu-r-Razzak.

Abdu-r-Razzak who came to India in 1443 was much impressed with its wealth. He writes:—"The country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them, filled with molten gold forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers".

Paes.

In the opinion of Paes, a Portuguese writer of the sixteenth century, "Vijayanagar was the best provided city in the world".

Learning and Art.

The kings of Vijayanagar were great patrons of learning and art. Sayana, the famous commentator of the Vedas, and his brother Madhava served the early kings of the first dynasty. The poet laureate of Krishnadeva Raya holds a high rank among Telegu writers. Although the city of Vijayanagar is now in ruins its remains prove that a distinct style of architecture was evolved there, and we have reason to believe that the

painters and sculptors of Vijayanagar were great masters of their arts.

The growth of Muslim power checked.

The kings of Vijayanagar not only checked the extension of the Bahmani Kingdom in the south but they were indirectly responsible for the prevention of its progress in the north as well. Had not the warlike rulers of Gulbarga and Bidar been perpetually engaged against Vijayanagar, they might have subjugated the petty Muslim principalities to their immediate north with comparative ease and the history of India might have taken a different course.

Mewar :—Of the Hindu principalities of Northern India, Mewar deserves special mention. The brave and chivalrous Rajputs of the Guhila clan had established themselves in the territory at least as early as the seventh century A.D. We have already seen how the capital of Mewar was reduced by Ala-ud-din and later recovered by Hamir. Rana Kumbha, the grandson of Hamir's grandson, was one of the most notable warriors of his time. He fought against the Muslim rulers of Malwa and Gujarat and although fortune did not always smile on him he held his own against the encroachments of his aggressive neighbours. Kumbha's grandson, Rana Sangram, or Sanga, as he was popularly called, was the hero of a hundred fields. He aspired to build a Hindu empire on the ruins of the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi and fought with conspicuous success against Malwa, Delhi and Gujarat. In him Babur, the founder of the so-called Mughul empire in India, found a formidable adversary. But the defeat of Khanua was decisive,* and it frustrated all hopes of Rajput ascendancy for ever.

Guhila Clan.

Kumbha.

Sanga.

Orissa :—The great Anantavarman Choda Ganga had consolidated Orissa into a powerful kingdom which, under his successors, stood as a bulwark against Muslim

Anantavarman.

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aggression. About A.D. 1434-35 the sceptre of the Gangas passed into the hands of Kapilendra who extended his dominions from the Ganges to the Kaveri and led his victorious troops to the neighbourhood of Bidar in the heart of the Bahmani dominions. His successors, Purushottam and Prataparudra (the contemporary and disciple of Chaitanya), ruled over an empire which often stretched from south-west Bengal to the neighbourhood of Madras. But the rise of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar and of the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golkonda was the signal for the disintegration of this mighty monarchy. About A.D. 1541-42 the family of Kapilendra was supplanted by another line which in its turn was ousted by Mukunda Harichandana (1559—1568). The alliance of this king was courted by Akbar, but his power was broken by the Kararani Sultans of Bengal who annexed Orissa in 1568.

Kapilendra.

Thus we find that after the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate the Hindus made a fresh bid for power both in Hindusthan proper and in the Deccan. But before the contest had any decisive result Babur appeared to give a new turn to the history of India. It should also be noted that all Muslim rulers were not necessarily foreigners ; the independent dynasties of Gujarat, Ahmadnagar and Berar were of indigenous origin.

CHAPTER XXII

IMPACT OF TWO CIVILISATIONS

The Muslim Government:—The Muslim Sultans of Delhi were autocrats with unlimited power. In theory their authority was limited by the laws of the *Quran*; in practice they recognised no restriction. Thus Ala-ud-din Khalji enforced a schedule of prices on his people and appropriated the spoils of war to his personal use despite the distinct injunction of the *Quran* to the contrary. Some of the Sultans, Muhammad bin Tughluq for one, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Khalifah, but the great majority of them dispensed with this formality. Thus the Muslim state in India was for all practical purposes autonomous and independent, and the Sultan was its head in the widest sense. He led the army, administered justice, regulated the laws and appointed his officers. His ministers were his servants whom he could dismiss at his pleasure; and so were the provincial governors (*Walis and Muqtis*). The authority of the Sultan strictly rested on his army and was therefore confined to a limited area within striking distance of his forts and outposts. Large tracts of land had of necessity to be left to the Hindu chieftains who were permitted to rule their ancestral principalities without any interference so long as they paid tribute and sent presents to Delhi. The village communities remained unaffected by the change of government, and the lot of the common cultivator did not change either for the worse or for the better. The only extra burden that the Hindus had to bear (for exception must be made of such rulers as Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq)

The King, an Autocrat.

Hindu Rulers.

Village Communities.

in normal times was that of *jizya* or the toleration tax, and converts to Islam were admitted to all the privileges of the ruling community.

Muslims bring new ideas.

Effect of the Impact of Two Civilisations :— The Muhammadans differed from the earlier invaders of India in one important respect. The Greeks, the Sakas and the Huns, who had settled in India, were completely absorbed by the Hindus and totally lost their identity. The Muslims, however, brought with them definite social and religious ideas, which fundamentally differed from those of the Hindus. But when two communities live side by side for three centuries, they imbibe, consciously or unconsciously, some of the ideas and beliefs of their neighbours. Islam is a proselytising religion, and the Muslims made many converts in India. These converts as well as the Indian wives of Muslim princes and nobles served as a bridge between the two communities. Thus we find that Khusrav Khan in the reign of Mubarak Khalji and the second Khan-i-Jahan during the concluding years of Firuz bin Rajab relied on the support of their former co-religionists for the success of their ambitious designs. The new converts retained some of their old beliefs, and the Indian wives undoubtedly introduced indigenous customs into the households of their Muslim husbands. Firuz bin Rajab tried to suppress some of the heresies and social innovations that prevailed in his time and these bore the clear impress of Hindu practices and beliefs. In the reign of Sikandar Lodi, an Afghan of noble birth was arraigned for leanings towards Hinduism. Rulers like Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir, on the other hand, actively pursued a policy of liberalism and toleration. Long association brought the followers of the two faiths closer and closer ; and they had just begun to recognise the identity of their interests when the growing good relations were

Hindu Muslim Rapprochement.

Zain-ul-Abidin, Sultan of Kashmir.

suddenly interrupted by the advent of a heterogenous horde of foreigners under Babur.

Influence of Islam on Hindu Society and Religion :—The reaction of Islam on Hinduism was two-fold. On the one hand it stiffened the conservative elements in Hindu society, and, on the other, it infused some of the democratic principles of Islam into the social and religious system of the Hindus. The conservative thinkers among the priestly order tried to fortify their position against the encroachments of the new faith by making the caste rules more stringent, and they embodied a rigid set of rules in the *Smriti* works. The most notable Bengali author of this class was Raghunandan. The liberals found able exponents of their views in a number of saintly teachers (mainly Sannyasis) who brought their message to the unlettered masses. In the details of their doctrines they sometimes differed, but they all agreed about the fundamental equality of religions. They also held that the caste of a man did not stand in the way of his salvation. They preached that God judged every one by his deeds and not by his birth. He made no difference between the high-born Brahmana and the despised outcaste. Salvation, they said, could be attained only by devotion and faith.

Twofold Reaction.

Raghunandan.

Saintly Teachers :—One of the earliest preachers of this class was Ramananda. He was a worshipper of Rama and preached in Hindi. He visited the holy places of Northern India and made no distinction of caste in selecting his disciples. Of his twelve principal *chelas* or disciples, one was a barber, another a cobbler and a third was a Muhammadan weaver.

Ramananda.

Another great Vaishnava preacher was Vallabhacharya, a Brahmana scholar who hailed from the Telegu country. He advocated complete renunciation of the

Vallabhacharya.

world and urged his followers to devote themselves unreservedly to the service of God, or Krishna.

Chaitanya. The greatest and the most popular of Vaishnava teachers was Chaitanya, a learned Brahmana of Bengal. He is regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Vishnu. Chaitanya renounced the world when a young man of twenty-four. He preached the efficacy of love and renunciation and had no respect for rank or wealth. One of his disciples was a Muslim by birth and some of his followers have renounced caste altogether, although they have not gone out of the Hindu fold.

Eknath. Eknath, the Brahmana saint of Maharashtra, was a great poet and renowned scholar. He was not a Sannyasi but lived the life of an ordinary householder. But he did not respect the rigid rules of his caste and freely associated with the untouchable Mahars, whose very touch was pollution to a man of the priestly caste.

Non-Brahmana Teachers. Not all the teachers of this period were Brahmanas. Kabir was a Muhammadan weaver, Namdeva a tailor and Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, a Kshatriya tradesman. **Kabir.** Kabir did not believe in the rituals of the Hindus or the Muslims, nor in the caste system. He made no distinction between Allah and Rama and preached the equality of all religions.
He wrote

"It is needless to ask of a saint the caste to which he belongs ;

* * * *

The barber has sought God, the washer-woman, and the carpenter—

Even Raidas was a seeker after God
The Rishi Swapacha was a tanner by caste.
Hindus and Moslems alike have achieved that
End, where remains no mark of distinction".

Nanak tried to assimilate into the new religion he preached everything that was good in Hinduism and **Nanak**



Nanak

Islam. He was a believer in universal toleration and is said to have visited Mecca in search of truth. His

was a proselytising religion and among his converts were several Muslims.

Development of Vernacular Literature :—While the orthodox scholars wrote in Sanskrit, the religious reformers contributed to the development of the vernacular literature everywhere. It was their aim to write for the masses and they naturally resorted to a medium easily intelligible to the illiterate multitude. Thus Ramananda and Kabir enriched Hindi literature. Eknath contributed not a little to the improvement of Marathi literature. Punjabi (and Gurumukhi) received a great impetus from Nanak and his disciples. The disciples of Chaitanya occupy a deservedly high place in the history of the Bengali language and literature. An earlier Vaishnava poet, Chandidas, is still held in great esteem, and even the peasants of Bengal are familiar with his lyrics. Vidyapati, who was a native of Mithila, is also counted among the early Bengali poets. The munificence of princely patrons gave a great impetus to the new literary movement. Vidyapati was the court poet of a Hindu chieftain. Krittivasa, whose Bengali version of the *Ramayana* may be rightly styled the Bible of Bengal, was patronised by a "King of Gaur". Vijayagupta notes with gratitude the benevolence of Husain Shah. The *Mahabharata* was rendered into the vernacular of the province at the command of Nusrat Shah of Bengal.

The Contribution of the Saintly Teachers.

Chandidas and Vidyapati.

State Patronage.

Krittivasa.

Persian Literature :—The Muslim rulers of Delhi naturally encouraged literary efforts in Persian, which they could appreciate better. The best-known of the Indian poets who wrote in Persian was Amir Khusrav, a voluminous writer who lived to a ripe old age. He first rose to fame during the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din Balban and subsequently served as the court poet of Ala-ud-din Khalji. Another poet, whose merit was

Amir Khusrav.

recognised outside India, was Shaikh Najm-ud-din Hasan, popularly known as Hasan-i-Dihlavi. The Muslim writers were great adepts in a branch of literature sadly neglected by the Hindus. They produced a number of first-rate historical works in elegant prose. Minhaj-ud-din attempted a general history of the Islamic world and named it *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri,* after one of his patrons, Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. Amir Khusrav, the poet, also tried his hand at historical prose and wrote the *Tarikh-i-Alai* which "contains an interesting account of the first years of the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji". The foremost historian of this period was Ziya-ud-din Barni, a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firuz bin Rajab. His *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* was largely used by later historians. Two other historical works, that deserve mention here, are *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* of Shams-i-Siraj Afif and *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* of Yahya bin Ahmad.

Hasan-i-Dihlavi.

Historical Prose.

Minhaj-ud-din.

Ziya-ud-din Barni.

Evolution of Urdu :—Inquisitive Muslim scholars studied Sanskrit and some of them knew the vernacular of their province. The early Muslim rulers deemed it necessary to use Devanagar characters on some of their coins, and this practice continued till the days of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Many Hindus, however, learnt Persian, as the knowledge of that language must have proved advantageous to them. But the need of a common tongue was quickly felt and this led to the evolution of Urdu or the language of the camp. It was probably in the camp bazaar that this composite language came into use, just as pigeon English has obtained currency in recent times in the market towns of the east. "Its (of Urdu) grammar and structure continue to be Hindi in the main, while the words are largely Persian". Urdu can therefore be described as an artificial language of natural growth, but unlike

Use of Devanagar Characters.

A Mixed Language.

Rich Literature.

similar languages of recent contrivance, it has a rich and progressive literature.

Its origin.

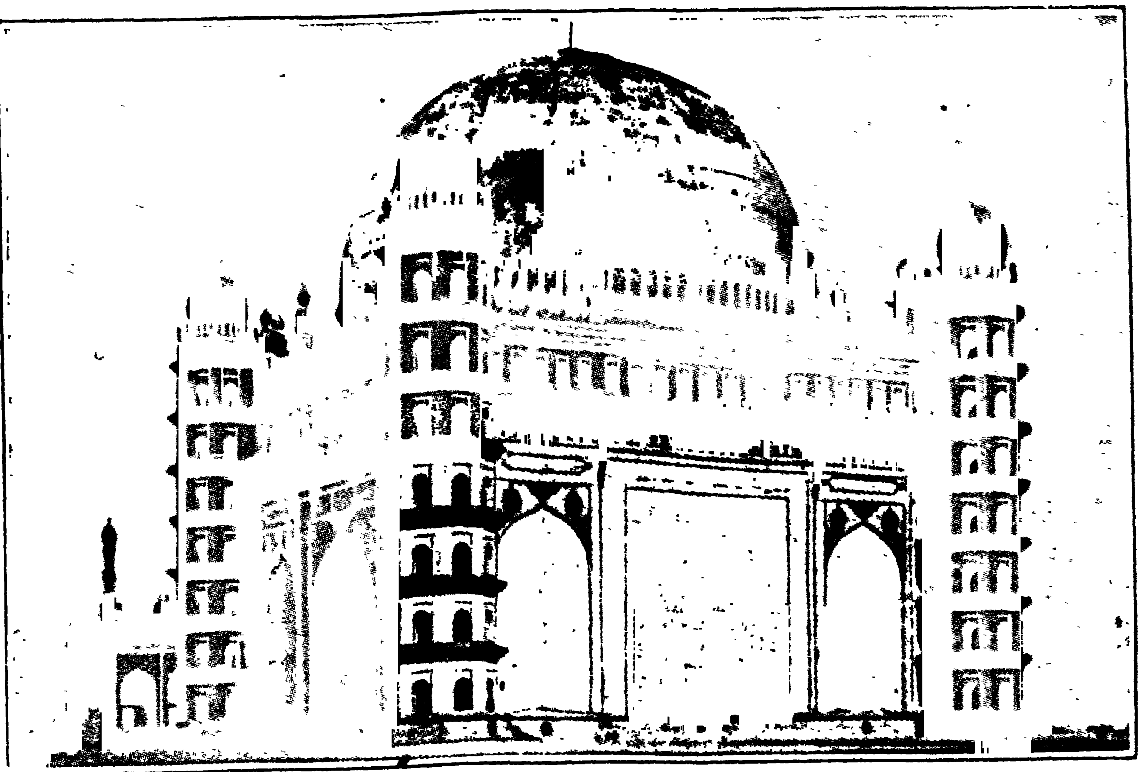
Indo-Islamic Architecture :—Like Urdu, Indo-Islamic architecture is also the direct result of the impact of two different cultures. As Sir John Marshall observes, "Indo-Islamic art is not merely a local variety of Islamic art", nor is it "a modified form of Hindu art". "Broadly speaking, Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources, though not always in an equal degree". The Muslims brought with them definite formulas of art and architecture, but they had to employ Indian craftsmen and sculptors. In the earlier period the materials of Hindu and Jaina temples had to be used for the construction of the mosques and sometimes the temples themselves were slightly modified to suit the peculiar needs of Muslim worshippers. Thus in every province a distinct style was evolved. At Delhi the Muslim traditions were mostly maintained. "At Jaunpur, on the other hand, and in the Deccan, the local styles enjoyed greater ascendancy, while in Bengal the conquerors not only adopted the established fashion of building in brick, but adorned their structures with chiselled and moulded enrichments frankly imitated from Hindu prototypes. So, too, in Western India they appropriated to themselves almost *en bloc* the beautiful Gujarati style, which had yielded some of the finest buildings of medieval India". The Qutb group of mosques offers the best specimens of the Delhi style. The special features of the Jaunpur style have already been discussed elsewhere. In Bengal the Adina Masjid of Pandua enjoys a high reputation for its magnitude and beauty. Of the famous mosques of this province the two *Sona Masjids* of Gaur and the *Qadam Rasul* deserve notice here. Ahmad Shah of Gujarat was a great builder. His *Tin Darwaja* and *Jami Masjid* possess all the charms of the

Not entirely Indian nor entirely Islamic.

Local Styles.

Adina Masjid, Sona Masjid and Qadam Rasul.

Tin Darwaja.



Gol Gambuz (Tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah) Bijapur

Chand Minar.

Gujarat school. The *Chand Minar* of Daulatabad shows unmistakable signs of Iranian influence, but the most noble specimen of that style in the Deccan is to be found in the college of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar.

Among the later buildings of the Deccan the *Gol Gambuz* of Bijapur may be mentioned. Thus we find that in literature and art, in social and religious movements, the intimate contact of Islamic culture and Hindu civilisation was producing happy results in medieval India.

Condition of the Common People :—How the common people fared during the first three centuries of Muslim rule it is not easy to ascertain. India was then well known for her wealth. It is noteworthy that even after the thoughtless extravagance of Muhammad bin Tughluq and the chronic anarchy of the later Tughluq days Delhi yielded an enormous booty to Timur. But this does not give any indication whatever as to the average income of an Indian of those days. Ibn Batutah says that he had nowhere seen "a country where the commodities sell cheaper" than in Bengal. A family of three could live there on 8 *dirhams* a years. But from a sixteenth-century Portuguese letter we learn that money was exceptionally scarce in this province. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the common people benefited by the prevailing low prices. The rich men were apparently uncommonly rich, but the poor men were possibly not much better off than their descendants to-day. In the Deccan their condition was positively miserable, as Nikitin observes. But, judged by modern standards, their needs were remarkably few and the country was economically self-contained. The simple necessities of the country folk were locally provided and the people in the remote villages possibly lived a contented life. But in times of famine their sufferings

Vast Wealth of the Country.

Cheap Price.

Scarcity of Money.

Few Needs.

must have been terrible, for relief from outside was not easily procured.

The welfare of the townspeople depended a great deal on the character of the local officials but the arm of the state was not long enough to reach the remote villages, which usually remained unaffected by the personal merits or demerits of the reigning Sultan and by political strifes and revolutions at the metropolis. When Ibrahim Lodi was slain at Panipat, the peasants of Etawah were probably tilling their fields with complete unconcern.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EARLY TIMURIDS: BABUR AND HUMAYUN

Early Career.

Babur :—Babur's is one of the most romantic careers known to history. He was called to the throne of the small principality of Farghana, now a province of Russian Turkistan, when a boy of eleven, and readily joined the scuffle for power and ascendancy in which his kinsmen and near relatives were engaged. Twice he entered Samarqand, the goal of all his dreams, and twice he lost the coveted city. To add to his misfortunes, he lost his paternal kingdom of Farghana as well, and was long a homeless wanderer. It was in the school of adversity that he received his best training and learnt to give and take hard knocks. While the guest of a village headman he heard from his host's mother, a woman of one hundred and eleven, the story of Timur's Indian exploits and resolved to tread in the footsteps of his great ancestor and revive his claims to the kingdom of Hindusthan. The Timurid princes were all swept away by the rising tide of Uzbeg power.



Babur

Occupies Kabul.

But Babur occupied Kabul in 1504 and from this base he led another expedition to Samarqand seven years

later. But his success was short-lived as before, and his army was totally routed by the Uzbegs in 1512. Foiled in the west, he turned his attention to the east, but twelve years passed before he found an opportunity of testing his plans.

Indian Expeditions :—The opportunity came when Daulat Khan Lodi, the most powerful noble of the Punjab, and Alam Khan, a pretender to the throne of Delhi, invited him to invade India. Babur had previously led a few raids accross the frontier and he readily responded to their call. Probably Rana Sanga was also in correspondence with him about this time. Babur was too ambitious and daring an adventurer to let such a splendid opportunity slip, and he occupied Lahore in 1524. Daulat Khan soon perceived that Babur did not propose to part with his Indian conquests and at once turned his arms against his late confederate. Alam Khan also broke the treaty so recently concluded and made common cause with Daulat Khan. Their defection made Babur postpone his final operations. But he had not abandoned his projects and once more entered India in 1525. It did not take him long to punish Daulat Khan and then he met Ibrahim at the famous field of Panipat in 1526. Here a clever combination of cavalry and artillery tatics bore excellent results. Against Ibrahim's force of 100,000 Babur could bring but 12,000. But superior strategy and generalship won the day though Ibrahim and his men fought with desperate valour. The victory was decisive, the Sultan of Delhi lay dead with the flower of his army and Babur promptly occupied Delhi and Agra.

Invited by Daulat Khan Lodi and Alam Khan.

Sanga.

Daulat Khan turns against Babur.

First Battle of Panipat 1526.

Contest with Rana Sanga :—His task was not yet accomplished and his authority was challenged before long by a far more formidable adversary. Rana

Rajput Confederacy. Sanga, the acknowledged head of the Rajput confederacy, had aggrandised himself at the expense of the Muslim rulers of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat. As a soldier his reputation was deservedly high. Sultan Ibrahim was "a young inexperienced man", but the Rajput leader as a war-worn veteran. He has been described as a mere "fragment of a warrior" as he had lost an eye, a hand and a leg and his body was disfigured by innumerable scars. The Rana had under him 120 chiefs, 80,000 horse and 500 war elephants. After Panipat he was joined by some of the Muslim adherents of the Lodi dynasty. But the tactics that succeeded so well against the Afghans at Panipat bore the same results against the Rajputs at Khanua (1527). The Rajput army was totally routed and Babur proceeded to storm Chanderi. There he received news of an Afghan rising in the east. He left for Bihar after the Rajput stronghold had been reduced and defeated the Afghan army on the banks of the Gogra near Patna. Babur died in 1530. Every schoolboy knows the current story about his death. It is said that, when the life of his eldest son was despaired of, Babur offered his own in exchange of that of Humayun. He earnestly prayed to the Almighty and was convinced that his offer had been accepted. Then Humayun began to recover while Babur's health declined. But the recovery of the son and the death of the father were by no means simultaneous. The latter event took place two or three months later.

Battle of Khanua or Kanwa 1527.

Battle of the Gogra.

Babur's death 1530.

Babur's Character :—Babur was a man of varied tastes and versatile genius. He "excelled in music and other arts" and was an ardent lover of nature. He probably inherited his literary tastes from his maternal grandfather while from his father he received that restless spirit of adventure and care-free *bonhomie* that did not forsake him even in the darkest hour of his

A versatile genius.

life. As Lane-Poole says, "he brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk, to the listless Hindu ; and himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar achieved". Affectionate and kind, Babur was a generous friend, forgiving father and considerate master. Even if he had failed as a soldier, he would still be remembered by posterity as a great literary artist. He composed verses in Persian and "in his native Turki he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse". The fragment of his "Memoirs", that has been preserved, occupies a very high place in the world's literature and has been translated into Persian, English and French.

Lane-Poole on Babur.

Babur's Memoirs.

Humayun :—Humayun inherited from his father a position of infinite difficulty. Babur had no time to consolidate his power in India before he died, and his success was more brilliant than stable. His adherents came from different lands and diverse races. They had followed him to India in search of fortune and their sole care was to secure their selfish ends. There was no unity in the royal family and many of the near relatives of the dead king had their eyes on the throne. An attempt was made to exclude Humayun from the succession while his father was yet alive, and he could not count upon the co-operation of his brothers even

The difficulties of Humayun.



Humayun

The Afghan Power not annihilated.

at the moment of his direst need. The Afghan power had indeed been stunned but it was far from being annihilated. The Afghans in the east soon found an able leader in Sher Khan and Humayun's ascendancy was menaced in the west by the growing power of Gujarat under Bahadur Shah. Much depended on the personal qualities of the new Padshah. He was a man of culture and wide intellectual interests. Like all

Personality of Humayun.

princes of his family he was a brave soldier and a daring leader. But he lacked the tact and discretion of his father as well as his resolution and perseverance. A confirmed opium-eater, he often lapsed into lethargy and inaction after a sudden outburst of furious energy. The good results of a strenuous campaign were in this way frequently spoilt and for a time the Afghans came back to their own and Humayun went into exile to Persia.

His first indiscretion was committed in thoughtless generosity to his three younger brothers. Each of them

Kamran.

held a fief of his own, and Kamran, the eldest of the three, governed Kabul and Kandahar. Not content with what he had, Kamran threatened war and so obtained from Humayun the important province of the Punjab. The stability of the infant Timurid power in India depended on its army and the recruits came mainly from the countries beyond the Indus. Humayun was thus completely cut off from his recruiting ground, for Kamran was no friend of his.

Early success of Humayun.

His early operations were none the less marked by vigour and crowned with success. Humayun received repeated provocations from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. The decline of Mewar had enabled Bahadur to extend his territories at its expense and he had also annexed Malwa. The enemies of Humayun were openly welcomed at Ahmadabad, and Bahadur financed their

enterprises with little or no secrecy. Humayun's protests went unheeded, and war was openly declared. Humayun chased Bahadur out of Malwa and entered the kingdom of Gujarat (1535). His forces reduced many strongholds and advanced as far as the blue sea. Then the emperor was called away by news of serious trouble in the east, and Gujarat and Malwa were evacuated.

Open Hostility of Bahadur Shah.

Sher Shah :—The leader of the Afghan rising in the east was Farid, better known as Sher Khan Sur. An entirely self-made man, Sher rose to prominence and power from very humble beginnings. His father Hasan held as his *Jagir* Sasaram and the adjoining district, but Farid was not in his good graces. Hasan was, like the nobles of those times, a much married man, and entirely under the influence of Farid's step-mother. Convinced that he could not expect fair treatment from his father, Farid left home at the age of fifteen and went to Jaunpur. There his industry and application earned the good opinion of his teachers; and Farid gained an uncommon familiarity with the Persian language and literature. It is said that he could reproduce from memory the whole of *Gulistan, Bustan* and *Sikandar-nama.* At last Farid was reconciled to his father, who entrusted to his accomplished son the management of his *Jagir.* The reconciliation, however, proved to be of short duration, and Farid left home once more, and went to Agra. When his father died, he took possession of his *Jagir* on the strength of a royal *farman.* A little later he entered the service of Bahar Khan Lohani, independent ruler of Bihar, and obtained from him the title of Sher Khan for his prowess in killing a tiger single-handed. Some time later he rose to be the deputy of his master, who appointed him at the same time tutor of his minor son, Jalal Khan.

Early Life of Sher.

Sher goes to Jaunpur.

Education.

Quick Promotion.

Sher joins Babur.

But the wheel of fortune underwent a fresh turn, and Sher Khan was once more deprived of his paternal *Jagir*. His enemies had apparently gained his master's ear and Sher joined Babur by whom Sasaram was again restored to him.

Virtual Ruler of Bihar.

Acquisition of Chunar.

Soon afterwards he left the alien service and returned to his own province to resume his old office of deputy governor. As guardian of his former pupil, he practically became the real head of the government and ruled Bihar in the name of the minor king. Meanwhile he came into possession of the strong fortress of Chunar. Taj Khan, the lord of Chunar, was killed by one of his sons. His widow married Sher Khan and delivered the fortress to him. Here he was besieged by Humayun in 1531 although he had deliberately kept aloof from the Afghan rising of that year. Sher saved himself by timely submission and Humayun left for Agra.

War with Bengal.

The overthrow of the older Afghan chiefs left Sher supreme master of Bihar, and the Lohani king and his kinsmen grew impatient of his authority. Unable to shake off his yoke, they entered into an alliance with the king of Bengal. But Sher won a decisive victory over the allied forces and thus became undisputed ruler of Bihar in name as well as in reality (1534).

Invasion of Bengal.

This victory greatly increased Sher's prestige. But he was still apprehensive of the superior power of Humayun and proceeded very cautiously. He did indeed augment his forces but he dared not do anything that might offend the Emperor so long as he was free to move against Bihar. But when Humayun was involved in a protracted war with Bahadur Shah, Sher invaded Bengal and unexpectedly appeared before Gaur, its capital, by an unfrequented route. Mahmud Shah, the ruler of Bengal, was a weak man and made peace

with his formidable enemy by paying him a huge ransom. But Sher was not the man to give up his schemes of self-aggrandisement, now that he was convinced of the weakness of his neighbour. He had been joined by many distinguished Pathan leaders after the decline of Bahadur Shah's power in the west. In 1537 he again invaded Bengal, this time with a view to permanent conquest. Meanwhile Humayun had left Gujarat and Malwa (1536), but, as was his wont, wasted his time at Agra instead of proceeding immediately against the Pathan chief. This fresh invasion of Bengal left Humayun no alternative but to take the field. If he had marched straight to Gaur, Sher's plans might have been frustrated; but he besieged Chunar instead. The garrison defended the place with great resolution and afforded their master the much-needed time for reducing Gaur. He had also taken possession of the famous fortress of Rohtas by treachery and sent his family and treasures there. When Humayun entered Bengal, Sher returned to Bihar and invaded the easternmost districts of the Timurid monarch. Humayun had been whiling away his time at Gaur in idleness. The news of Sher's activities in the west compelled him to leave for Agra before his retreat was cut off. The imperial forces were intercepted at Chaunsa near Buxar and utterly defeated by Sher Khan (1539), who soon afterwards proclaimed himself king under the title of Sher Shah. Next year Humayun made a fresh attempt to retrieve his fortune, but his army was hopelessly demoralised and was again routed by the Pathan king at the battle of the Ganges or Bilgram, commonly known as the battle of Kanauj.

Conquest of Bengal.

Siege of Chunar.

Sher Captures Rohtas.

Chaunsa and Bilgram.

Had the sons of Babur pooled their resources at this crisis, there was still some hope for them. Humayun went to Lahore and did his best to induce

his brother to make common cause with him; but Kamran preferred a selfish policy and left the Punjab to be appropriated by Sher Shah. The new ruler proceeded to reduce the Gakkhars with vigour and promptitude; but he was called back to Bengal at the other end of his empire where his deputy had been guilty of serious imprudence. Sher Khan reorganised the administration and divided the province into several districts, each to be governed by an officer appointed directly by him. He next subjugated Malwa (1542) and turned his arms against Puran Mal of Raisin. The garrison capitulated on terms, but the Afghans fell on them when they were outside the protecting walls. The Rajputs killed their women and children and died to a man valiantly fighting their relentless foe (1543). The latest biographer of Sher Shah has tried to exonerate him from the charge of deliberate treachery, but the Raisin incident certainly remains a stain on his reputation.

Gakkhars of the Salt Range and its neighbourhood.

Administrative Reforms in Bengal.

The Afghan empire expanded rapidly, and Sind and Multan were annexed by an officer from the Punjab. The emperor himself invaded the territories of Maldev, the Rajput Raja of Marwar. The Rajputs were brave soldiers, and Sher Shah at one time despaired of success. But the superior cunning of the Pathan leader prevailed at length and he succeeded in frightening Maldev by forged letters. Although the Raja fled, some of his generals fought the Pathan army to vindicate their honour (1544). Sher Shah won a victory but it was dearly purchased. This success led to the reduction of all the territories from Ajmer to Abu, and Sher Shah proceeded to besiege Kalinjar. The fort was reduced, but Sher Shah died of an accident (1545). With him vanished all hopes of a Pathan revival.

Expansion of the Empire.

War with Marwar.

Death of Sher Shah.

Survey and Assessment.

Sher Shah's Government:—Sher Shah was not merely a great soldier: his achievements as a ruler were,

if possible, greater still. He had his kingdom properly surveyed and he put the land revenue system on a far



Tomb of Sher Shah, Sasaram

more satisfactory basis. The rights and the liabilities of the tenants were clearly defined, and the *Kabuliyat* and *Patta,* with which we are so familiar to-day, came into vogue. The peasant was expected to pay one-fourth of the gross produce, but he had the option of paying either in kind or in cash. Sher Shah was a strict lover of justice and did not tolerate the petty tyrannies of local officers. He reformed the currency of the land and furthered the cause of trade and commerce by connecting the principal towns of his realm by a chain of excellent roads. One of these still survives in the Grand Trunk Road that runs from Bengal to the Punjab. His postal system was well organised and provided for quick exchange of news.

Justice.

Currency Reform.

Grand Trunk Road.

Though he ruled for five years only, he left no department of administration untouched. He reformed the police and made the village headmen responsible for rural peace. In the army, he enforced strict discipline and revived Ala-ud-din's system of branding (*dagh*) horses to prevent fraud. Though a devout Muslim, he treated his Hindu subjects with toleration and justice. One of them, Brahmajit Gaur, rose to be a commanding officer in his army. Sher was a great builder and his noble mausoleum at Sasaram still testifies to his excellent taste. As Dr. Vincent Smith points out, Sher Shah had anticipated many of the important reforms of Akbar. "If Sher Shah had been spared, he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Moguls' would not have appeared on the stage of history. His right to the throne was quite as good as that of Humayun". While Humayun was a foreigner, Sher's family had been settled in India for three generations and "Sher Shah was personally far abler than his rival".

Police.
Army.

Hindus well treated.

Sher Shah's Successors:—Sher Shah had no able successor, and the Sur power was weakened by family dissension. Islam Shah, the second son of Sher Shah, ruled for nearly nine years and died in 1554. His infant son was murdered by his maternal uncle, who ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Shah Adil (1554). Adil was a worthless prince and left the government entirely to his Hindu minister, Hemu. Malwa and Bengal were soon afterwards lost and two nephews of Sher Shah rose against Adil and asserted their claims to the throne. Humayun took advantage of these troubles and returned to India and recovered his crown.

Islam Shah.

Adil.
Hemu.

Humayun Again:—Humayun had long been a homeless wanderer. The petty princes of Rajputana dared not give him shelter, his attempts to find a home

in Sind had also proved unsuccessful, and his brother Kamran would not have him at Kabul. At last the unfortunate prince obtained an asylum in Persia. With Persian help he recovered Kandahar in 1545 and expelled Kamran from Kabul soon afterwards. Kamran did not admit defeat so easily, but he was at last taken prisoner, blinded and sent to Mecca. Humayun gave his consent to this procedure with the greatest reluctance, but the past record of Kamran left him no option. From Kabul Humayun and his friends watched events in India with the greatest vigilance; and while the Sur princes were frittering away their strength and resources in civil war, the Timurid prince found an excellent opportunity of reasserting his claims. In 1555 he entered India, and Lahore fell to his arms. The same year he occupied Delhi and Agra after defeating Sikandar Sur. But Humayun did not survive long to enjoy his newly won power. He died next year as the result of an accidental fall, while hurrying down the staircase of his library to answer the call to prayer. But the affairs of the state were in safer hands, as the sequel proved.

Humayun goes to Persia. Defeats Kamran.

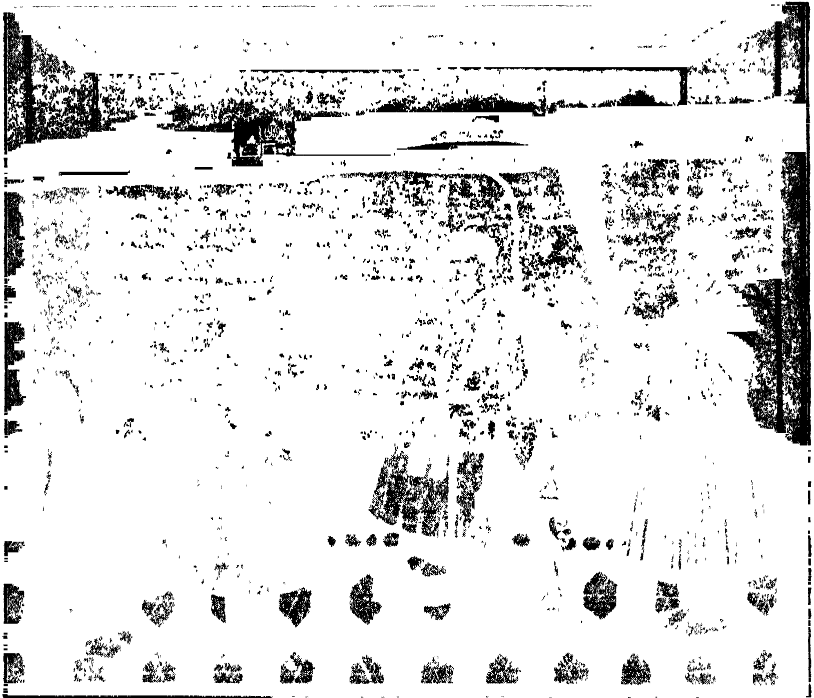
Occupation of Lahore and Delhi.

CHAPTER XXIV

AKBAR THE GREAT

Birth of Akbar.

Akbar succeeds Humayun:—Humayun was succeeded by a boy of thirteen. Akbar was born at Umarkot in 1542 while his father was wandering in the deserts of Sind, homeless and destitute. When



Akbar

Left behind.

Humayun went to Persia, his infant son had to be left behind to the tender mercies of his uncle Kamran.

Akbar held a nominal command when his father died and had seen some fighting ; but, precocious as he was, it was doubtful whether he would be able to overcome the tremendous difficulties facing him. Luckily he had an able guardian in Bairam Khan, an old friend and comrade of his father. **Bairam Khan.**

The Pathan Factions :—Humayun had recovered only a small fragment of his Indian territories. The Sur princes still held the greater portion of Sher Shah's kingdom. As we learn from Ahmad Yadgar, "the country from Agra to Malwa, and the confines of Jaunpur, owned the sovereignty of Adil Shah ; from Delhi to the smaller Rohtas on the road to Kabul, it was in the hands of Shah Sikandar ; and from the borders of the hills to the boundaries of Gujarat, it belonged to Ibrahim Khan". Defeated at Sirhind, Sikandar had retired to the Siwalik hills, but Akbar found a formidable adversary in Hemu, the Hindu minister of Muhammad Adil. **Adil.** **Sikandar.** **Ibrahim.** **Hemu.**

Hemu and the Second Battle of Panipat :—Hemu was a self-made man. He came from Rewari in Mewat and was a *Baniya* by caste. It was by sheer merit that he rose from the office of superintendent of markets to be the director-general of the army and finally one of the principal advisers of his master. He had given evidence of his military genius in the civil wars of those days ; and Muhammad Adil sent a large army under him to expel Humayun from the Punjab. Before he engaged the Timurid army, Hemu thought it necessary to dispose of Ibrahim Sur and utterly defeated him. Fresh troubles in the east engaged his attention for a while and then he set out for the west once more. He expelled Akbar's officers from Delhi and Agra, assumed the title of Raja Bikramajit and met Bairam and Akbar at the famous **Early Life of Hemu.** **Defeats Ibrahim.** **Recovers Delhi and Agra.**

Second Battle of Panipat.

field of Panipat (1556), where the fate of India was decided for a second time. The Afghans had some initial success, but a stray arrow decided the day. Hemu was seriously wounded in the eye and the elephant he was riding turned away. The disappearance of their leader demoralised the Afghan forces and they were easily routed. Hemu was taken prisoner and put to death. The victory of Panipat was decisive. Next year Sikandar Sur submitted to the victor and obtained a fief from him. Muhammad Adil died fighting against the governor of Bengal. Ibrahim Sur wandered from place to place until he received an asylum in Orissa where he was slain ten years later (1567-68).

Submission of Sikandar. End of Adil and Ibrahim.

Fall of Bairam Khan :—The battle of Panipat was followed by the occupation of Gwalior and Ajmer and the annexation of Jaunpur (1559). Bairam Khan continued to carry on the government in the name of his young ward. A masterful man, stern and relentless, he created many enemies by his high-handed methods. Akbar naturally wanted to rule for himself and was strongly urged by his mother and nurse to get rid of the regent. In 1560 Akbar dismissed Bairam who submitted to the royal decision with apparent resignation and agreed to leave for Mecca. But when a personal enemy and former subordinate of his was commissioned to see him out of the country, Bairam rebelled. He was defeated, but Akbar treated his former guardian with the generosity and consideration that his past services deserved. On his way to Mecca Bairam was murdered by an Afghan of the Lohani tribe who had a private grudge against him (1561). His little son was taken under Akbar's protection and afterwards rose to be the premier noble of the empire. Akbar did not take the reins of government immediately into his own hands. For the next

Jaunpur annexed.

Bairam dismissed.

Rebellion of Bairam.

Death of Bairam.

two years his nurse Maham Anaga and her relatives enjoyed an undue ascendancy. But in 1562 Adham Khan, Maham's son, paid with his life for his impudence, and his mother died of grief soon afterwards. Two years later Akbar inflicted similar punishment on his mother's brother and the harem influence came to an end. **Maham Anaga.**

Conquests and Annexations:—Akbar was an imperialist by instinct. His reign lasted for half a century (January 1556 to October 1605), and hardly a year passed without some military engagement till the surrender of Asirgarh in 1601. In 1561 Malwa was conquered by Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad, but Baz Bahadur, the Afghan ruler of that province, did not submit to Akbar until some years later. In 1564 Asaf Khan, governor of Kara, invaded the Gond kingdom of Garah Katanga, which roughly corresponds to the northern districts of the Central Provinces. The reigning Raja was a minor but the principality was ably ruled by his mother, Rani Durgavati, a Rajput lady of exquisite beauty and uncommon valour. Her small force was overpowered in the neighbourhood of the modern Jubbulpore and Durgavati committed suicide, preferring death to disgrace. Her son fought against the invaders till he was killed. Immense booty fell into the hands of the latter. Asaf Khan held the principality for some time but it was afterwards restored to a member of the old royal family, who was persuaded by Akbar "to part with that portion of his country which now forms the kingdom of Bhopal".* **Malwa.** **Gondwana.** **Rani Durgavati.**

The Rajput clansmen had not hitherto been reconciled

* Chandra Shah, the new ruler, acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi. Durgavati did not rule over the whole of Gondwana. There were three other Gond Kingdoms, viz., Chanda, Deogarh and Kherla.

to the supremacy of Delhi. They were valiant soldiers and held their own in their desert homes and mountain fastnesses. Both Babur and Sher Shah had found formidable adversaries in the Rajput rulers of Mewar and Marwar. Akbar knew the value of Rajput friendship and tried to secure their submission by friendly persuasion. In 1562, Raja Bihar Mall of Amber (Jaipur) submitted to Akbar who married his daughter. But the Rana of Mewar would not acknowledge the overlordship of Akbar, though the reduction of Mirtha (Merta) had given him a foretaste of the Timurid power. He had further offended Akbar by giving refuge to Baz Bahadur, the dispossessed prince of Malwa. In 1567 the emperor led an expedition against the Rana's country. Udaya Sinha was an unworthy son of the great Sanga and fled to the hills, leaving Chitor, his capital, to its fate. Chitor was, however, very ably defended by Jaimall and Patta and stood a siege for four months before it was stormed (Feb. 1568). Jaimall was shot by the emperor in person ; and disheartened by the death of their leader, the garrison put their women and children to death and then rushed on their enemies sword in hand. No quarter was given or taken, and the defenders were massacred to a man.*

The Rajputs submit to Akbar.

Mewar Defiant.

Jaimall.

Fall of Chitor.

The fall of Chitor served as a warning to other chiefs who had so long defied Akbar. Rai Surjan of Ranthambhor capitulated in 1569 and entered into the service of Delhi. The chief of Kalinjar followed his example in the same year. The rulers of Bikaner and Jaisalmer not only paid their homage to the emperor but gave their daughters in marriage to him, as a proof of their loyalty.

Ranthambhor. Kalinjar.

Other Rajput Chiefships.

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* According to Abu-l-Fazl, the number of the slain was 30,000. The figure seems to be highly exaggerated. He probably meant *sih hazar* (3000) and not *Si hazar* (30,000).

One by one the Rajput chiefs accepted the inevitable, but Mewar refused to own alien domination even in name. Udaya Sinha, craven-hearted as he was, retained his independence, though the capital of his

Pratap Sinha of Mewar.



Maharana Pratap

ancestors was lost. After his death the warriors of Mewar found a worthy leader in their new king, Pratap Sinha. Pratap was in every respect true to the traditions of his land. The idea of nationality was yet unborn, but he staked his all for the dignity of his family and the glory of his faith. The contest was

An unequal Contest. hopelessly unequal. On one side was the powerful Muslim army backed by all the resources of the emperor of Delhi. On the other side stood the small force of a Rajput ruler who could not even count upon the sympathy of his near neighbours and fellow chiefs. The Rajput feudatories of Akbar fought against Mewar with the proverbial zeal of the convert. Unable to rise to Pratap's height, they were anxious to drag him down to their own level. But Pratap remained true to his ideal till the last. In 1576 he suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Man Sinha of Amber who commanded **Gogunda.** the imperial forces in the battle of Gogunda or Haldighat. The Rana was saved by the selfless devotion of his followers and barely escaped with his life. He retired to remote fastnesses ; and his strongholds were one by one lost. He was hunted from place to place by his implacable enemy. A nominal submission would have satisfied Akbar, for he did not interfere in the **The Rana's Success.** internal affairs of the Rajput states. But unmoved by all adversities, undaunted by repeated defeats, the Rana continued the war, and before he died he had the satisfaction of recovering most of his forts. The most cherished object of his life, however, remained unattained. Chitor was still in the Padshah's hands. Even at his last moment he thought of his country and **His Death.** its future. He had no faith in his son and demanded from his chiefs "a pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turk". Rana Pratap represented everything great in Rajput character. Rajputana produced greater generals and greater statesmen, but Indian history does not know of a greater hero and patriot than Pratap Sinha of Mewar.

The annexation of Ranthambhor and Kalinjar **Gujarat.** (1569) was followed by the subjugation of Gujarat. The province had formed a part of the Sultanate of Delhi in its lofty days, and Humayun had been in

possession of this wealthy province for a brief period. The province suffered from chronic anarchy and misrule; and Akbar's armed intervention had some justification as it had been solicited by one of the political factions. In 1572 the emperor led the expedition to Gujarat in person. His personal courage and hardihood carried everything before him, and the puppet king was pensioned off. But hardly had he returned to his headquarters (Fathpur Sikri) than troubles broke out again in the newly conquered province. Some of his cousins took a prominent part in this insurrection, but the emperor appeared on the scene in record time, having covered six hundred miles in eleven days, and gained a decisive victory over a numerically superior foe. Gujarat henceforth became an integral part of Akbar's empire.

Bengal. The conquest of Bengal had been practically forced upon Akbar, though he would have doubtless attempted it even without any provocation. After Sher Shah's death a near relative of his was appointed governor of Bengal. The Sur kings asserted their independence during the brief and stormy reign of Muhammad Adil and ruled the province till 1564, when the murder of the last king, a youth, gave Sulaiman Kararani, governor of South Bihar, an opportunity of extending his authority to Bengal. Sulaiman wisely cultivated friendly relations with Akbar and formally acknowledged his overlordship. He transferred his capital from Gaur to Tanda and annexed Orissa. His son Daud, however, was less prudent. He not only proclaimed his independence but actually attacked a frontier outpost. Akbar promptly took the field and expelled Daud from Patna (1574). The Pathan chief was severely defeated at Tukaroi (1575) in the Balasore District, but the results of this victory were marred by the thoughtless leniency of Munim Khan, the

Sulaiman Kararani.

Daud.

imperial commander-in-chief. The campaign had therefore to be reopened, and it ended with Daud's defeat and death near Rajmahal (1576). But the authority of the emperor was long resisted by a number of powerful Zemindars in Bengal. The most well-known of them are Isa Khan of East Central Dacca and Mymensingh, Kedar Rai of Vikrampur, Kandarpanarayana of Chandradvipa (Bakla) in Bakarganj and Pratapaditya of Jessore.

Bengali Chiefs.

Kabul.

Kabul formed the appanage of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's step-brother. He was for all practical purposes an independent ruler and often gave his powerful brother unnecessary offence. When his intrigues with the discontented nobles in India could no longer be overlooked, Akbar invaded Afghanistan and took possession of Kabul (1581). But the province was not formally incorporated in the empire of Delhi until Hakim's death in 1585. Kashmir, Sind and Orissa were annexed, in 1586, 1590-91, and 1592 respectively. Baluchistan was conquered in 1595, and in the same year Kandahar was delivered to Akbar's representative by its Persian governor. Thus the entire area extending from the Hindukush to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalayas to the Narmada came under the sway of the great emperor, the only exception being a narrow strip of tribal area on the other side of the Indus and a few other tracts.

Kabul occupied.

Other Annexations. Kandahar.

But Akbar was not content with the sovereignty of Northern India. He had been casting longing looks at the rich Sultanates of the South and would have been satisfied with a formal acknowledgement of his suzerainty. Diplomatic efforts to secure this end proved a failure except in the case of Khandesh. An army under Bairam Khan's son, Abdur Rahim, and the Emperor's second son, Prince Murad, was despatched against Ahmadnagar. The two commanders did not get

The Deccan.

Ahmadnagar.

on well together and the operations were considerably hampered; but Ahmadnagar was ultimately besieged. The city was defended with conspicuous gallantry and determination by Chand Sultana, dowager queen of **Chand Sultana.**



Chand Sultana of Ahmadnagar

Bijapur and a daughter of the Nizamshahi house. A treaty was concluded in 1596 when Berar was ceded to the emperor and the boy king of Ahmadnagar recognised the ruler of Delhi as his overlord. War, however, was renewed next year. Akbar himself proceeded to the Deccan in 1599 and took Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh (1600). The defence of Ahmadnagar was weakened by internal dissensions **Cession of Berar.**

Fall of Ahmadnagar. and Chand Bibi was either murdered or committed suicide (1600).* The city was stormed soon afterwards, but the dynasty survived till the reign of Shahjahan. **Asirgarh.** In 1601 Asirgarh, the strongest fortress in Khandesh, fell into Akbar's hands. The garrison was weakened by the outbreak of a deadly pestilence, and bribery and corruption were rife. The ruler of Khandesh had been earlier inveigled into the imperial camp and detained there by a piece of lamentable treachery. The last acquisition of Akbar hardly added to his credit.

Rebellions :—It will be wrong to suppose that Akbar experienced no troubles from his ministers and generals. The Rajputs, of course, fought and bled for him in every part of the empire after they pledged their fealty to him, but the bold adventurers who followed Humayun were drawn from many races and were not so steadfast in their allegiance. In 1564 Abdullah Khan Uzbeg rebelled in Malwa. Next year Khan Zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan, two **Uzbeg Rebellion.** other Uzbeg chiefs, raised the standard of revolt in the east. The Uzbeg rebellion became so serious that Mirza Hakim took this opportunity to invade the Punjab. In 1567 the Uzbeg rebellion was suppressed **Asaf Khan.** but meanwhile Asaf Khan had rebelled. He repented soon afterwards and was promptly forgiven. In 1580 the Muslim chiefs of Bengal and Bihar, mostly of Afghan origin, rose in arms against the emperor. **Revolt in Bengal and Bihar.** They disliked his religious policy and would have replaced him by his more orthodox brother of Kabul. The rebellion lasted for several years, and Shah Mansur, the finance minister, was summarily executed on suspicion of treason.

* Or 1603 according to the *Cambridge History of India*.

The last days of the great emperor were embittered by the armed rebellion of his disloyal son, Prince Salim (1601). He did everything to wound his father's feelings and had his father's favourite and friend Abu-l-Fazl assassinated (1602).* Prince Murad died in 1599, and when the death of Prince Daniyal left none between him and his father's throne, Salim was reconciled to the emperor. Akbar treated Salim as a petulant child and put him under formal arrest, before he was completely forgiven in November 1604. In September of the next year the emperor fell ill of dysentery which proved incurable, and he passed away the following month.

Rebellion of Prince Salim.

Death of Murad and Daniyal.

Death of Akbar.

Akbar as a Man :—A great man, a great soldier and a great ruler, Akbar occupies a unique position in the history of India. Like all princes of the house of Timur, Akbar was a man of great daring and uncommon physical strength. In his early youth he did not hesitate to leave the shelter of his harem and face Adham Khan after that miscreant had murdered his prime minister ; a single blow of the royal fist sufficed to fell the culprit. In his Gujarat campaign he often fell on the enemy with a handful of followers. He frequently plunged his horse into dangerous rivers and safely crossed, though all his followers were not equally fortunate. While hunting, his attendants were forbidden to come between him and the ferocious beasts without his express permission. As a great conqueror Akbar must have been quite familiar with scenes of bloodshed and carnage, but he seldom indulged in cruelty for its own sake. Nor was he a man of a

A Man of Daring and Strength.

* Jahangir pleads in his *Tuzuk* that he had Abu-l-Fazl assassinated to safeguard his own interests.

Not Cruel and Vengeful. vengeful spirit. A repentant rebel could be sure of his pardon ; and he treated his brother Hakim with singular leniency though that prince had given him repeated offence. Sometimes he flew into a furious rage, and on those occasions the victims of his wrath were summarily dealt with ; but usually he kept his temper in control and such were his personal charms that the love and reverence of his subjects identified the ruler of Delhi with the Ruler of the Universe.

Uncommon Popularity.

Illiterate but not Uncultured. Akbar was illiterate but not uncultured. A man of great intellectual curiosity, he had the best literary works of those days read to him and he delighted in the society of the learned. He also took a great interest in mechanical works and invention, and it is said that he had introduced several improvements in the manufacture of match-locks. He supervised every department of his government ; and if the capacity of taking infinite pains be a criterion of genius, Akbar was certainly one.

His Inventions.

A Genius.

A Man of Imagination. He was not merely a man of action but of great imagination as well. Though the Hindus had been fairly treated by Sher Shah and appointed to high offices by his successors, Akbar was the first Muslim ruler in India, with the exception of Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir (1420—70), to abolish all distinctions between Muslims and non-Muslims. He realised that no empire could endure long unless it was founded on the good will and loyalty of all its subjects. The Hindus formed the overwhelming majority of the population ; and the Padshah did not deem it wise to reduce them to permanent inequality and humiliation. One of his earliest acts was to do away with the *jizya*. He next abolished the pilgrim tax, and finally established universal toleration. The head of the state thus rose above all religious strife and made it clear that all his subjects could expect from him impartial treatment

Conciliates Hindus.

Toleration.

irrespective of their caste, creed and religion ; and every one was at liberty to worship God according to his convictions without any interference from the state. But Akbar did not stop here. He went further and tried to unite all the warring sects under one universal religion. With this noble object he founded a new religion, the *Din Ilahi*, that combined the good points of all the known faiths. The *Din Ilahi*, however, was not a political device nor a hasty production. Akbar was a sincere seeker after truth and he proceeded with characteristic thoroughness in his religious investigations. Unable to read, he listened to the debates of theologians of different sects and faiths. In 1575 he built the House of Worship (*Ibadat Khana*) at Fathpur Sikri for this purpose. For the first three years no non-Muslim divine was admitted to this debating hall. But afterwards the Padshah summoned to his presence Hindu scholars, Jaina teachers, Parsi priests, and Christian missionaries. He listened to their discourse with reverence and patience and tried to embody the fundamental principles of all religions in his *Din Ilahi*. The conception of a universal religion was, beyond doubt, a noble one. Akbar however made but few converts, because, true to his principle of universal toleration, he did not try to force this faith on his friends and courtiers, but the man who dreamt of uniting the disunited provinces of India under one state and the conflicting sects and creeds under one universal religion certainly deserves grateful remembrance. Had he succeeded, the Indians might have been welded into one nation long ago.

The Din Ilahi.

The House of Worship.

It is not fair to suggest that Akbar renounced Islam in his later years. He had not the contempt for other religions that bigots like Budauni professed. Akbar never denied the authority of the *Quran*, not

Attitude towards Islam.

even in the so-called Infallibility Decree by which he claimed to be the supreme arbiter in matters spiritual.

Social Reforms.

But tolerant as he was in matters purely religious, Akbar did not tolerate any social abuse. He disapproved of *Sati* and prohibited the burning of unwilling widows. Nor was he blind to the evils of the prevailing custom of child marriage. He prohibited the marriage of boys below 16 and girls below 14 as the children of such unions were likely to be weak and sickly. These were bold reforms, considering the prejudices of that age.

An Autocrat.

Administration :—Akbar was professedly an autocrat like his predecessors on the throne of Delhi. In most things his word was law and his will supreme. But he was at the same time a man of good sense, and his autocratic power was employed for the good of his empire and his subjects. An autocrat need not be a tyrant ; and Akbar was, judged by the standard of his age, a good and benevolent ruler.

But a Good Ruler.

Jagir System abolished.

He disliked lack of method and system and strove hard to improve his government. The *Jagir* system was not to his liking as it caused unnecessary loss to the central treasury and tended to make the *Jagir*-holder too powerful. He, therefore, introduced the *mansab* system. The *Mansabdars* or office-holders were divided into 33 classes and were paid in cash according to their respective grades. The empire was divided into fifteen *Subahs* or provinces for administrative purposes.* Each province was under a military governor or *Sipahsalar* as he was then styled (the *Subahdar* of a later period). He held office during the

Mansabs.

Provincial Government.

* These were Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, Ajmer, Ahmedabad, Malwa, Bihar, Bengal, Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar.

pleasure of the emperor and exercised almost unlimited power. He was the head of the provincial government and was responsible for its peace and prosperity. The province was divided into a number of Districts, which were probably identical with Sarkars. Each district was placed under an officer called *Faujdar*. In towns the police duty was performed by the *Kotwal*, while justice was administered by the *Qazi* and *Mir Adl*. As the emperor was assisted by the *Vakil* (prime minister), the *Vizier* (finance minister), the chief *Bakhshi* (roughly speaking paymaster-general and muster-roll keeper) and the *Sadr* (the highest ecclesiastical officer), so his vicegerent in the province had under him (1) the *Diwan* or chief finance officer, (2) the provincial *Sadr*, (3) the *Amil* or revenue collector, (4) the *Bitikchi*, whose duties were somewhat analogous to those of the *amil*, (5) the *Potdar* or treasurer and (6) the *Waqai navis* or the news writer, in other words, a spy. These officers not only helped the provincial governor but also served to keep his power in check.

Faujdar, Kotwal, Qazi.

Chief Ministers.

Provincial officers.

The country was carefully surveyed for purposes of assessment. The land was divided into four classes according to the state of cultivation and each of the first three was further subdivided into three classes according to their fertility and crops. The peasant had to pay one-third of the produce ; and the assessment as well as the cash rates were based on the average of ten years. Akbar preferred payment in cash but payment in kind was also permitted. He abolished many of the vexatious cesses and thus rendered the high assessment less unbearable. In his revenue administration Akbar followed the enlightened policy of Sher Shah and the result was highly beneficial to the state and the people.

Classification of Land.

Assessment.

Influence of Sher Shah.

Akbar was a great patron of art and literature and his age may be aptly compared with that of his contem-

Art and Literature.

porary, Elizabeth of England. The splendour of the town of Fathpur Sikri was entirely due to Akbar, and although the city has long been deserted, its architectural remains have evoked unstinted praise from competent critics. Tansen, perhaps the greatest musician that India has hitherto produced, was a courtier of Akbar ; and Baz Bahadur of Malwa, who afterwards entered the service of Delhi, has been described as "the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song".

Ruins of Fathpur Sikri. **Tansen.** **Baz Bahadur.**

Among the literary men of Akbar's court, Faizi and Abu-l-Fazl enjoy the greatest reputation. Faizi was a poet of great distinction and Abu-l-Fazl is best known for his *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnama.* Budauni and Nizam-ud-din also deserve mention here as historical writers of great merit. Some of the Muslim scholars of this age learnt Sanskrit, and the *Atharva Veda,* the *Ramayana,* the *Mahabharata* and the *Lilavati,* a mathematical treatise, were translated into Persian under Akbar's patronage. Raja Birbal, the celebrated wit of Akbar's court, first attracted his patron's notice as an author of Hindi verses. But the most famous Hindi poet of all times, Tulsidas, was a contemporary of Akbar. Tulsidas's *Rama-charita-manasa* enjoys a unique popularity among the Hindus of Northern India. Another distinguished Hindi poet, Surdas, also flourished in this period. Akbar's reign thus marks a new epoch in the history of Indian literature and art.

Faizi. **Abu-l-Fazl.** **Budauni.** **Nizam-ud-din.** **Translation of Sanskrit Works.** **Birbal.** **Tulsidas and Surdas.**

Among the Hindu officers of Akbar Todar Mall was perhaps the greatest. Though his military achievements were considerable, he is better known as a financier. It was he who was mainly responsible for the revenue reforms of Akbar. Todar Mall was a man of humble origin, but Akbar knew how to appreciate merit ; and Todar Mall became one of the foremost nobles of his court.

Todar Mall.

-----Marks the Boundary of Akbar's Empire in 1605

........Marks the Boundary of Akbar's Territories in 1561

Man Sinha.

Another Hindu who figures so prominently in the annals of this period was Man Sinha of Amber. A Rajput prince of high birth, he was closely connected with the imperial family, as Akbar had married his aunt and prince Salim was his brother-in-law. But he did not owe his promotion to his high connexions. He was one of the best generals that Akbar had and he held responsible office in the next reign as well.

Greatest Muslim Ruler.

From whatever point of view we may approach it, Akbar's reign forms one of the brightest periods in Indian history. Agriculture improved, trade and commerce expanded, art and literature flourished, and the country enjoyed the blessings of a strong and orderly administration. Akbar may be rightly regarded as the greatest of the Muslim rulers of Delhi.

CHAPTER XXV

JAHANGIR AND SHAHJAHAN

Accession of Jahangir :—Salim ascended the throne of Agra a week after his father's death. Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi, as the new emperor preferred to style himself, was an ease-loving mediocrity of thirty-six ("thirty-seven years, three months by the lunar calendar"). Reckless indulgence had sapped his energy but he was not without military ambition. He dreamt of the conquest of Transoxiana, the ancient seat of his ancestors. There were troubles in Bengal and Gujarat and the subjugation of Mewar was a question of prestige. But these gave him no serious anxiety. The provincial forces could deal with the local rebels; and Parviz, Jahangir's second son, was sent with a strong force to humiliate the Rana. But the pleasant dreams of the emperor were rudely disturbed by his eldest son, Khusrav. Five months after his father's accession he left the capital and rose in arms.



Jahangir

Mewar Expedition.

Khusrav a popular prince.

Rebellion of Khusrav:—The favourite grandson of Akbar, Khusrav enjoyed a popularity second to none in the empire. When his father rebelled against Akbar, Khusrav was openly mentioned as his possible successor. He had many influential partisans in the court and could count upon the powerful support of his maternal uncle, Man Sinha, and his father-in-law, Khan-i-Azam Aziz Koka, Akbar's foster-brother. Whether it was fear or ambition that drove Khusrav to rebellion it is difficult to say. But the emperor took the field in person, and such was his anxiety that on the first morning of the expedition he forgot his daily dose of opium. The rising was easily suppressed, Khusrav was brought in chains before his father and his supporters were severely punished. The emperor took this opportunity of executing the Sikh *guru*, Arjun, apparently because he had been friendly to the rebellious prince, but the emperor confesses in his *Memoirs* that his real offence was his religion.

Khusrav captured.

Execution of Guru Arjun.

Sher-afgan incident.

Nurjahan :—In 1607 Qutb-ud-din Khan, the new governor of Bengal, who was to the emperor "in the place of a dear son, a kind brother, and a congenial friend", went to Burdwan to arrest Sher-afgan, the *jagirdar* of that place, and was killed in the affray. Sher-afgan was, in his turn, cut to pieces by the governor's attendants, and his beautiful widow, Mihr-un-nisa, was sent to the court with her young daughter. Mihr-un-nisa was the daughter of a Persian immigrant, and the story runs that the emperor's infatuation for her cost the brave husband his life. The accuracy of this story has of late been challenged by a clever writer ; but his arguments are based on the silence of contemporary authors, and it is difficult to explain why the beautiful widow was sent to the court and not to her father, unless the emperor wanted to press his suit in person. In any case, the

Jahangir marries Mihr-un-nisa.

charming Mihr after a decent interval became his chief queen (1611). Jahangir was apparently an adorer of light (*nur*). He himself was Nur-ud-din. On his charming partner he conferred the titles of Nurmahall and Nurjahan, and a favourite elephant was called Nurgaz. Nurjahan was a lady of great ambition and exceptional ability, and such was her influence over Jahangir that she soon became the real ruler of the empire.


Nurjahan

The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe:—In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe, an Englishman of good birth, excellent education and polished manners, arrived in India. He came as an ambassador of James I of England to secure some privileges for the East India Company. He waited upon Jahangir at Ajmer and returned home in 1619. His *Journal* is of immense interest and his Chaplain, Edward Terry, has also left an account of what he saw and heard in India.

War and Conquests:—The emperor's union with the beautiful Persian was followed by military success in Bengal and Mewar. Usman Khan, an Afghan noble, had rebelled in Bengal. He was defeated and slain, and his relatives promptly submitted to Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal (1612). In 1614 Rana Amar Sinha, son of Pratap Sinha, at last owned defeat. He did not possess the unflinching resolution of his father, and the little state had suffered terribly in the unequal contest. Prince Khurram, the third son of Jahangir, had secured the country by a chain of military posts and the Rana was compelled to beg for peace. He was excused from personal attendance at the court

Bengal.

Submission of the Rana

and no princess of his family was ever sent to the emperor's harem. As the emperor himself observed, "The real point was that as Rana Amar Sinha and his fathers, proud in the strength of their hilly country and their abodes, had never seen or obeyed any of the kings of Hindusthan, this should be brought about in my reign". Jahangir had two statues of the Rana and his son carved out of marble and placed in the garden of his palace at Agra.

Statues of the Rana and his son.

Jahangir pursued his father's policy of aggression in the Deccan and waged a long war against Ahmadnagar. His arms met with but little success, although the best generals were employed. Ahmadnagar was lucky in its Abyssinian minister, Malik Ambar, who transferred the capital to Khirki, improved its revenue system and conducted the war with conspicuous ability. At last Prince Khurram was sent to the Deccan ; the fort at Ahmadnagar was formally surrendered to him (1616-17) and peace was concluded. For this success Khurram was rewarded with the title of Shahjahan by his adoring father. In 1620 the strong fortress of Kangra surrendered to an officer of Jahangir. Unfortunately for the emperor, this notable success, of which he was so proud, was succeeded by a series of disasters.

Ahmadnagar.

Malik Ambar.

Khurram.

Revolt of Shahjahan :—The king of Persia had made several attempts to recover Kandahar. His efforts met with success in 1622. Jahangir ordered his favourite son Shahjahan to proceed against the Persians but the prince rebelled. He had hitherto been practically sure of the throne. He had married Mumtaz Mahall, a niece of Nurjahan, and the powerful influence of the empress had thus been enlisted in his favour. The murder of Khusrav removed the only serious rival he had, for Parviz possessed no ability.

Loss of Kandahar.

Causes of the Revolt of Shahjahan.

But when Nurjahan's daughter was married to Jahangir's youngest son Shahryar, the empress naturally transferred her support to her son-in-law. Shahjahan feared that she would utilise his absence at Kandahar in undermining his interests and decided to risk his future in an armed rebellion rather than retire tamely in favour of his younger brother.

Defeat of Shahjahan.

The emperor was naturally grieved. Shahjahan suffered many defeats and was chased from province to province. He at first withdrew to the Deccan whence he was driven to Bengal, but he could not hold that province and was compelled to return to the Deccan. In 1625 Shahjahan was formally reconciled to his father, but the next year he found an unexpected ally in Mahabat Khan.

Early Career of Mahabat Khan.

Mahabat Khan's Revolt :—Mahabat Khan was an Afghan by birth and held a *mansab* of 500 only at Jahangir's accession. He had rendered distinguished services to his master, and his promotion was very rapid. He had taken a prominent part in quelling the revolt of Shahjahan, but the implacable hostility of Nurjahan drove him to rebellion. By a bold attack he captured the emperor (1626), who was then encamped on the Jhelum, on his way to Kabul. Nurjahan bravely fought the insurgents and, foiled in her attempts to rescue her husband, deliberately joined him in his captivity. The soldier was outwitted by the empress who succeeded in regaining her own freedom as well as that of her husband. Mahabat had no alternative than to run away and join Shahjahan. But Nurjahan's triumph did not last more than a few months, for Jahangir died in October 1627.

Mahabat captures the Emperor.

Death of Jahangir.

A strange Mixture of Contradictions.

Character of Jahangir :—As Mr. Beveridge says, "Jahangir was indeed a strange mixture. The man who could stand by and see men flayed alive, . . .

could yet be a lover of justice and could spend his Thursday evenings in holding high converse . . . He could procure the murder of Abu-l-Fazl and avow the fact without remorse, and also pity the royal elephants because they shivered in winter when they sprinkled themselves with cold water . . . . One good trait in Jahangir was his hearty enjoyment of nature and his love for flowers". Himself a painter, Jahangir was a patron of learning and art. His *Tuzuk* (memoir) has been highly praised for its literary excellence. But he is best known for his love of justice. "The first order that I gave", he writes, "was for fastening up the Chain of Justice". The chain bore 60 bells and the humblest of his subjects could bring his grievances to the emperor's notice by shaking it. He tried to rule well and was usually humane. He abolished many taxes and cesses. But his indolence and weakness formed his greatest failing, and he ultimately became a puppet in the hands of his talented wife.

Love of Justice.

Reforms.

Shahjahan :—Shahjahan had no difficulty in securing the throne, though he was absent in the far-off Deccan when his father died. Parviz died in 1626 and the only rival Shahjahan had was Nurjahan's son-in-law Shahryar, a worthless prince, popularly known as *Na-shudani* or 'good for nothing'. The interests of the absent prince were zealously watched by his father-in-law, Asaf Khan, who found a dummy emperor to hold the throne till Shahjahan came. He arrived at Agra early in 1628 and was solemnly crowned. But the accession of the new emperor was marked by the murder of almost all his possible rivals, a precaution that proved useless in



Shahjahan

Shahjahan murders all possible Rivals.

the long run, for in his last days Shahjahan was deprived of his throne by his own son.

Rebellions :—But at the moment he had nothing to fear. The empire was at the height of its power. The army was strong and efficient and Shahjahan had no difficulty in putting down the rebellious Jhujhar Sinha, a Bundela chief, and Khan Jahan Lodi, an ex-viceroy of the Deccan. The Afghan caused much more trouble than the Bundela, but he was at last defeated and killed.

Bundela Rising.

Khan Jahan Lodi.

Capture of Hughli :—The Portuguese, who had a settlement at Hughli, had given the emperor great offence. While professing to be peaceful merchants, they exacted customs for all goods passing through their town. The activities of their missionaries were not likely to please the Muslims, as they seized helpless orphans, both Hindu and Muslim, and sold them as slaves. They also engaged in piracy and disturbed the peace of the country. The emperor ordered Qasim Khan to seize Hughli and the town was captured in 1632. A large number of prisoners were sent to Agra where they suffered great misery.

Portuguese Tyranny.

Hughli captured.

Shahjahan and the Deccan States :—During his father's reign, Shahjahan had served in the Deccan and was, therefore, quite familiar with the politics of that area. Ahmadnagar was feeble, and Bijapur and Golkonda were no match for the mighty Timurid emperor. The Sultanates of the South enjoyed some respite during the rebellions of Shahjahan and Mahabat Khan. But the emperor was now resolved to establish his ascendancy over them. Shahjahan was a zealous Sunni and the ruler of Bijapur and Golkonda were professed Shias. Thus political rivalry was accentuated by religious differences. Ahmadnagar was annexed (1633) and the Nizamshahi

Annexation of Ahmadnagar.

dynasty came to an end, though a futile attempt was made to revive it by Shahji, the father of the celebrated Shivaji. The emperor called upon the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda to acknowledge his suzerainty and proceeded to the Deccan in person to enforce his demand. The ruler of Golkonda was overawed and agreed to pay an annual tribute and acknowledged the overlordship of the emperor. The king of Bijapur made a bold stand for his rights, but was finally obliged to yield to superior force. He had to pay a large indemnity and to become a vassal of Delhi. But he got a large slice of the extinct kingdom of Ahmadnagar and was spared the humiliation of an annual tribute. At the same time he undertook not to molest his neighbour of Golkonda, now a *protégé* of the emperor (1636). Aurangzib, the third son of Shahjahan, then a young man of eighteen, was appointed to the viceroyalty of the Deccan.

Shahji Bhonsla.

Submission of Golkonda.

Peace with Bijapur.

Aurangzib Viceroy of the Deccan.

Kandahar and Central Asia :—Fortune continued to smile on Shahjahan and in 1638 Kandahar was restored to him by a disloyal Persian officer, Ali Mardan Khan. Emboldened by continuous success, the emperor embarked on a bold, and perhaps impracticable enterprise. He aspired to reconquer the old territories of his ancestors. In 1646 Prince Murad Baksh succeeded in occupying Balkh and Badakshan; but the imperial forces could not hold their conquests long. They had to retreat a year later. The expedition caused immense loss in men and money.

Recovery of Kandahar.

Balkh and Badakshan occupied.

Nor could Shahjahan keep the much coveted province of Kandahar. In 1649 the Persians recaptured the fort. Twice (1649 and 1652) did Aurangzib try to recover it. He was unsuccessful on both the occasions. A third attempt was made (1653) and the command was entrusted to the emperor's eldest son, Prince Dara

Final Loss of Kandahar.

Shikoh. Kandahar was besieged for five months (1653), but Dara Shikoh returned without effecting anything and Kandahar was lost for ever.

Second Viceroyalty of Aurangzib.

The Deccan States :—In 1653 Aurangzib was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan for a second time. The province had been hopelessly misruled for many years and could not pay even the normal expenses of the administration. Aurangzib's first care was to improve the finances. In this difficult work he received valuable assistance from an able officer named Murshid Quli Khan, who introduced Todar Mall's system of survey and assessment in the Deccan.

Murshid Quli Khan's Revenue Reforms.

Golkonda.

Aurangzib next turned his attention to the two surviving Sultanates of the South. The annual tribute, which the Sultan of Golkonda had promised to pay, offered a ready excuse for interference. But a more plausible plea was found in the Sultan's attitude towards an overpowerful minister, Mir Jumla, who had been taken under the Emperor's protection at the instance of Aurangzib.

Early Career of Mir Jumla.

Muhammad Said, better known as Mir Jumla, was a Persian adventurer. He came to the country as a trader and acquired immense wealth as a dealer in precious stones. His exceptional talents were recognized by the Sultan of Golkonda and Mir Jumla became his prime minister. Such was his ascendancy over his trusting master that he became for all practical purposes the ruler of the kingdom. He made extensive conquests in the Karnatak and made himself practically independent of the king. When the king sought to reduce his too powerful minister to submission, Mir Jumla placed himself under the protection of Aurangzib. Mir Jumla's son was guilty of an unpardonable discourtesy to the Sultan and was placed

Becomes Prime Minister.

His conquests.

The arrogance of his son.

under arrest. Aurangzib procured an order from his father directing the Sultan of Golkonda to release Mir Jumla's family and declared war without giving the Sultan a reasonable opportunity of complying with his demands. Aurangzib clearly wanted to annex the principality and laid siege to Golkonda. But Shahjahan urged peace, and the kingdom of Golkonda was granted a fresh lease of life on the payment of a large indemnity and the cession of the district of Ramgir. All arrears of tribute had to be cleared as a matter of course. Mir Jumla was soon afterwards appointed prime minister of the empire (1656). **Treaty with Golkonda.**

The death of Muhammad Adil Shah in 1656 afforded Aurangzib a suitable opportunity for invading Bijapur. He alleged that the new king was not the son of the deceased ruler but a boy of obscure origin. The principality would have, doubtless, been conquered, but Shahjahan intervened and Bijapur was granted peace. Like Golkonda, Bijapur also had to pay a huge indemnity and make considerable territorial cessions (1657). Soon afterwards Shahjahan fell ill and his sons hurried towards Delhi to fight for their father's throne. **Invasion of Bijapur.** **Peace concluded**

Civil War:—Shahjahan had four sons. The eldest, Dara Shikoh, enjoyed the confidence of his father and would have succeeded him if Shahjahan's personal wishes had prevailed. A man of scholarly instincts, Dara Shikoh freely associated with learned Hindus and Christian missionaries. The *Upanishads* were translated into Persian under his patronage. Dara Shikoh was suspected of unorthodox views and was, therefore, disliked by the orthodox section of the Muslim community. Shuja, the second son, was governor of Bengal. He was a good soldier, but his love of ease and pleasure proved a huge offset to his military ability. Murad, the youngest son, was in charge of the **Dara Shikoh.** **Shuja.** **Murad.**

government of Gujarat. A man of undoubted bravery, he was devoid of any other quality and was given to drinking and dissoluteness. The ablest of all was Aurangzib, who combined in himself exceptional industry with uncommon diplomatic and military skill. He was, moreover, a zealous Muslim and was very popular with the orthodox Sunnis.

Aurangzib.

Dara Shikoh was at Agra when his father fell ill. The illness was very serious and the three absentee princes suspected, or affected to suspect, that Shahjahan was really dead but that the news had been suppressed by Dara Shikoh. Shuja proclaimed himself emperor at Rajmahal and advanced towards the capital. Murad followed his example and enthroned himself at Ahmadabad. He made an alliance with Aurangzib and joined him in Malwa, and they arranged a partition of the empire. Shahjahan had, in the meantime, recovered his health but his orders were not attended to. He sent Jasovant Sinha and Qasim Khan to oppose the combined army of Aurangzib and Murad, while Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh, was sent against Shuja. Jasovant Sinha was signally defeated at the battle of Dharmat (April 1658) near Ujjain and the victorious princes marched towards Agra. In May, Dara Shikoh met them at Samugarh, eight miles from Agra, and was severely defeated. Aurangzib promptly occupied Agra, where he made his father a prisoner. Murad was first placed under arrest and then executed after a mock trial. But Aurangzib had still to dispose of Shuja and Dara Shikoh.

Shuja rises in arms.

Alliance between Murad and Aurangzib.

Battle of Dharmat. Samugarh.

Shuja had been defeated by Sulaiman Shikoh near Benares (February 1658), but before the victorious prince could come to his father's aid, Dara Shikoh lost the battle. This gave Shuja an opportunity of repairing his losses and making a fresh bid for power. But his hopes were shattered at Khajwah (January 1659), where

Defeat of Shuja.

Battle of Khajwa.

Aurangzib commanded his army in person. The defeated prince was then driven out of Bengal by Mir Jumla (May 1660). Shuja sought refuge in Arakan, where all sight of him was lost. He was probably killed with his family by the Arakanese.

Sulaiman Shikoh was deserted by his following, now that fortune had decided in favour of Aurangzib. He sought refuse with a Hindu Raja in the hills of Garhwal, but was betrayed by his host's son in 1660. He was put to death two years later. Dara Shikoh met with no better fate. After his defeat at Samugarh, he succeeded in reaching Gujarat, through the Punjab and Sind, where he was received with open arms by the local governor. Misled by the friendly promises of Jasovant Sinha, Dara Shikoh marched towards Ajmer. But Jasovant proved false to his promises, and Dara Shikoh suffered a severe defeat at the pass of Deorai (1659). He had no alternative but to leave India and seek an asylum elsewhere. He hurried towards the frontier but was betrayed by a faithless Afghan chief. Aurangzib did not think it prudent to spare so formidable an adversary, and his case was placed before a court of theologians, who condemned him for heresy. The prince was executed and his corpse was paraded throughout the city in order to convince the people that their favourite was no more.

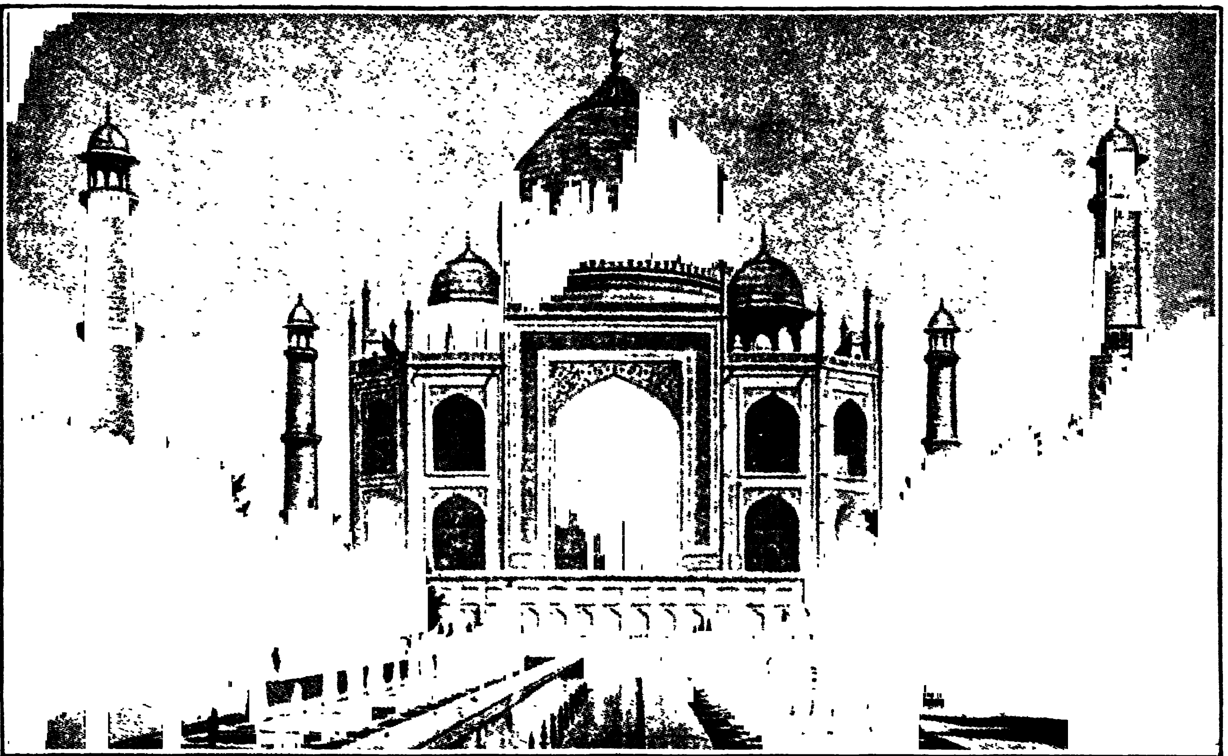
Sulaiman Shikoh. **Flight of Dara.** **Battle of Deorai.** **Execution of Dara Shikoh.**

Deprived of his throne and freedom, Shahjahan spent his last days in misery and humiliation. Unnecessary indignity was inflicted on him and the captive emperor was tortured in spirit until death released him in 1666.

Last Days of Shahjahan.

Shahjahan's Character :—Though ruthless as a soldier and unsparing to his political rivals, Shahjahan was, on the whole, a good king. He did much to alleviate the sufferings of his people during the terrible

A ruthless Soldier.



Tajmahal, Agra

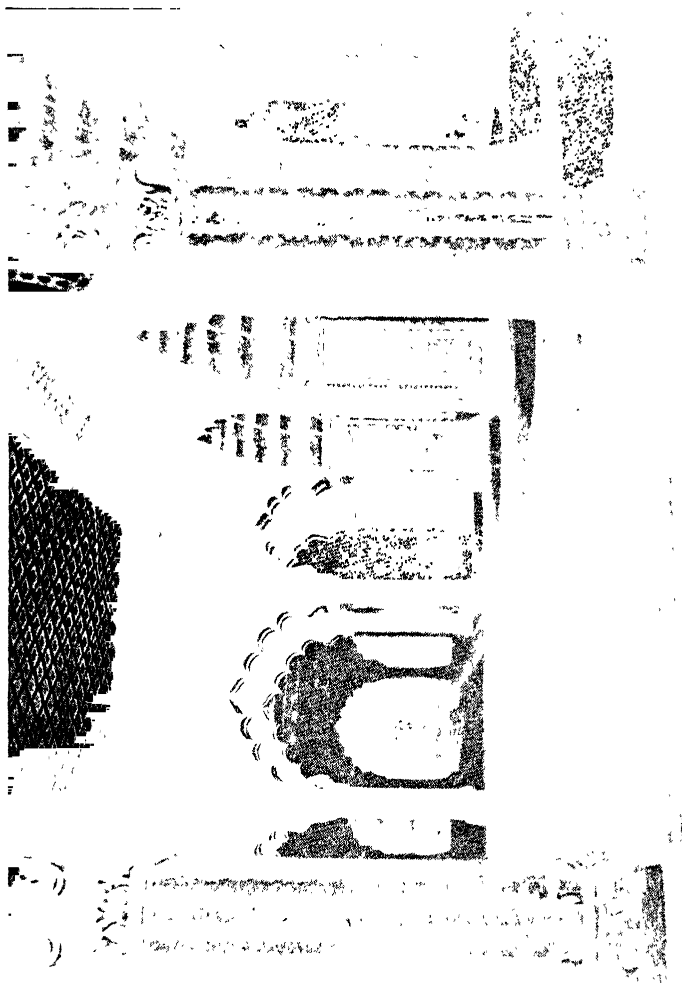
famine of 1630-32. Though he too employed Hindus in high offices, he deliberately abandoned the policy of religious toleration. Christians were persecuted for the misdeeds of the Portuguese, but the Hindus expected better treatment from him as he was born of a Rajput mother. He forbade the building of new temples and demolished many of the existing ones. The policy of intolerance thus begun was continued in the next reign. **Religious Intolerance.**

Shahjahan was an affectionate father and a devoted husband. He remained passionately attached to Mumtaz Mahall, whom he had married in 1612. The nineteen years of their married life were extremely happy, and Shahjahan found in his wife a wise adviser and unfailing friend in the days of his adversity. Mumtaz died in 1631; and it was over her grave that Shahjahan built the famous Tajmahal, rightly regarded as one of the seven wonders of the world. It testifies alike to his devoted love and to his excellent taste. This splendid mausoleum was built at a cost of fifty lakhs of rupees under the supervision of Mukarramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim. The story that Italian architects built it is untrue. **As a Father and Husband.** **Tajmahal.**

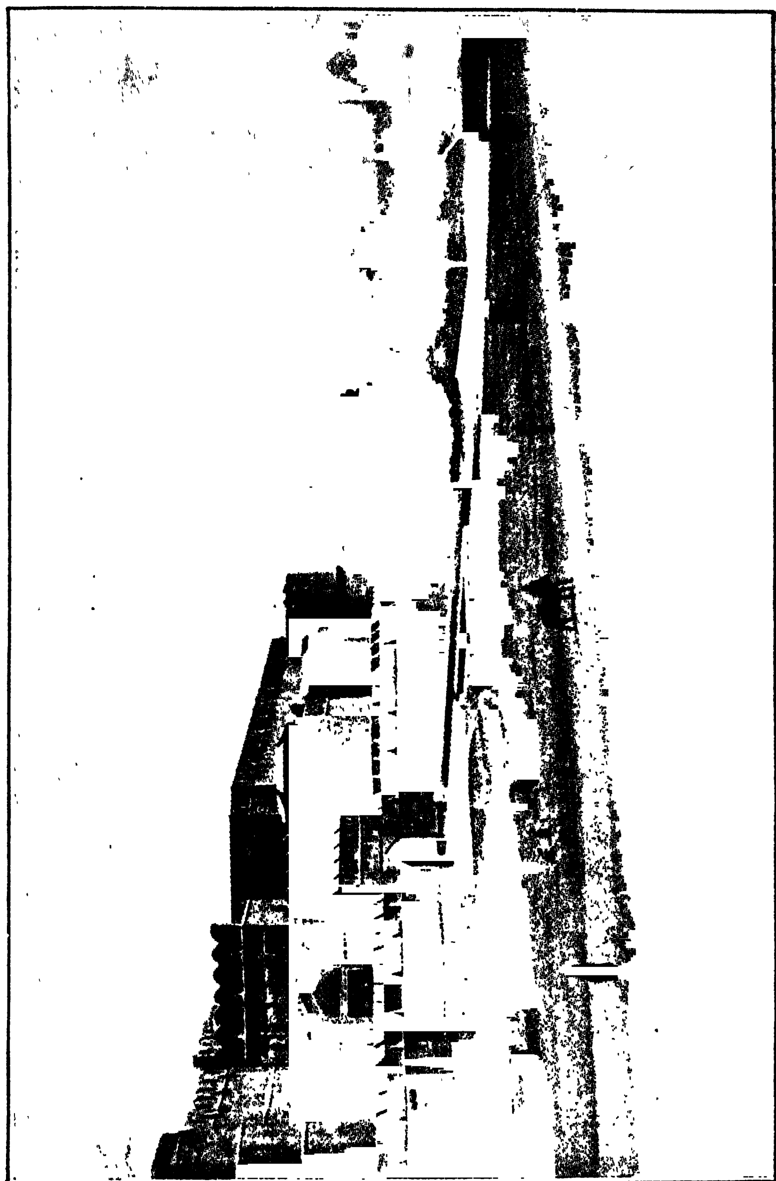


Mumtaz Mahall

Shahjahan's Magnificence:—Shahjahan's reign is best known for its pomp and splendour. Intent on beautifying Agra and Delhi, he spent lavishly on



Interior of Diwan-i-Khas, Delhi



Amar Sinha Gate, Agra Fort

his buildings. The Taj indeed surpasses everything in beauty and taste; but there are other magnificent specimens of Indo-Persian art that deserve notice here.

Pearl Mosque. The pearl mosque of Agra is extremely lovely. Shahjahan built a new city in the suburbs of Delhi, which still bears his name (Shajahanabad). **Diwan-i-Am. Diwan-i-Khas.** The highly ornamented Diwan-i-Am and the Diwan-i-Khas were built at enormous cost. **Jam-i-Masjid.** Another noble building which survives to the present day is the Jam-i-Masjid, otherwise known as the Masjid-i-Jahan Numa.

The Peacock Throne. The most famous object of art of this reign was "the celebrated peacock throne constructed under the superintendence of Bebadal Khan in the course of seven years (1628—35). The throne was in the form of a cot bedstead on golden legs. The enamelled canopy was supported by twelve emerald pillars, each of which bore two peacocks encrusted with gems. A tree covered with diamonds, emeralds, rubies and pearls stood between the birds of each pair". **Carried away by Nadir Shah.** The throne was removed to Persia in 1739, but it no longer exists.

Painting. The art of painting also made marked progress under Shahjahan's patronage, and historical literature **History.** found an able exponent in Abd-ul-Hamid, the author of *Badshah-nama.*

The country enjoyed peace and prosperity, and Shahjahan's reign marks an epoch in the history of Indo-Muslim art and architecture.

CHAPTER XXVI

AURANGZIB AND SHIVAJI

The Empire at its Height.

Aurangzib :—The Timurid empire in India was at the height of its power when Aurangzib deposed his father. It reached its greatest extent under the new emperor ; but unmistakable signs of its early dissolution were perceived while the indefatigable Aurangzib was still alive. No emperor brought so much industry and devotion to his work. Yet he proved a failure ; and just before his death he wrote in despair—"I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. . . . . All the soldiers are feeling helpless, bewildered, and perturbed like me". The long reign of Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzib Bahadur Alamgir Padshah Ghazi (1658—1707) culminated in a tragedy.



Aurangzib

An industrious Emperor.

Last Days Unhappy.

Two Coronations :—Aurangzib was twice enthroned, once immediately after his occupation of Agra (July 1658) and again with great ceremony (June

1659), when the victories of Khajwa and Deorai left him in secure possession of the throne. Like his predecessors, he began his reign by ordering the discontinuance of many obnoxious cesses and taxes, but this generosity was very likely as ineffective as that of the earlier kings.

Mir Jumla.

The Ahom Conquest.

Assam and Chatgaon Expeditions :—Every powerful emperor was anxious to extend his frontiers and Aurangzib was no exception. In 1661 Mir Jumla, then governor of Bengal, set out with a well equipped army to conquer Assam. The expedition was not unprovoked. The Ahoms migrated from their original home in Upper Burma and occupied a part of the Brahmaputra valley during the 13th century A.D. They gradually extended their territories in the west and made themselves masters of the rich country of Assam. Here they came under Hindu influence and adopted the religion and customs of the Hindus. During the reign of Jahangir, Kuch Hajo, embracing the present districts of Kamrup and Goalpara, was annexed to Bengal and this eventually brought the two neighbours into conflict. Peace was concluded in 1638, but the Ahoms took advantage of the war of succession and occupied Gauhati (1658). It was to punish this aggression that Mir Jumla led his forces across the eastern frontier. He had with him a vast fleet of armed boats, and a powerful army consisting of 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry. His early operations were crowned with success.

Mir Jumla's Early Success.

He overran Kuch Bihar (Cooch-Behar) and occupied Ghargaon, the Ahom capital (1662). At first the Ahom army offered little resistance to the invaders but they soon recovered their confidence. Mir Jumla's army suffered terribly from the hardships of the journey and lack of provisions.

Peace with the Ahom King.

From the military point of view the expedition may be regarded as a success, for the Ahom king Jayadhvaj promised to pay an annual [illegible]ute and a

huge indemnity. But the invading army suffered severely from the climate and other inconveniences and their general died on his way to Dacca. A few years later the Ahoms recovered Kamrup, and Gauhati was made a viceregal seat. The Delhi government carried on desultory war against the Ahoms but without any permanent advantage. Mir Jumla's successor Shayista Khan fought against the Portuguese pirates and conquered Chatgaon (Chittagong) from their ally, the king of Arakan (1666).

Death of Mir Jumla.

Ahoms recover Kamrup.

Conquest of Chittagong.

North-West Frontier :—The tribes of the North-Western frontier proved a source of great trouble. Their risings afforded Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire, the opportunity of consolidating his power ; and the rebellious tribesmen made it impossible for Aurangzib to use Afghan soldiers against the Rajputs. The first tribe to rise in arms were the Yusufzais. In 1667 they crossed the Indus in large numbers and exacted money from the peasants. The Yusufzai rising was suppressed before long, but the Afridis and Khataks rebelled in 1672, and were soon afterwards joined by other prominent tribes. In 1674 the rebels annihilated an imperial force, and the emperor decided to visit the frontier in person. The troubles continued for many years and were ultimately suppressed more by diplomacy and subsidies than by force. The emperor pursued the policy of "breaking two bones by knocking them together" or setting one tribe against another. At the same time a judicious use of bribes and subsidies was made and the imperial authority was gradually restored.

The Yusufzai Rising.

Afridis and Khataks.

Policy of Divide and rule.

Aurangzib's Religious Policy :—Aurangzib was a Muslim first and a king afterwards. Of simple and abstemious habits, he was regarded by his contemporaries as a "*darvish* in the purple". His private

Aurangzib, a strict Muslim.

life was free from the common vices of his time and he was venerated by the Muslims as a *"Zinda pir"* or living saint. He was naturally anxious to propagate his religion in his realm and so deliberately reversed the policy of Akbar. To him India was a "land of the faithful" where idolatry could not be tolerated. To encourage conversion he conferred rewards and honours on new converts and at the same time economic pressure was brought to bear upon the "infidels". The *jizya* was reimposed in all the provinces "with the object of curbing the infidels, and of distinguishing the land of the faithful from an infidel land", after several measures likely to prove disadvantageous to the Hindus had been passed. "In March 1695 all Hindus, with the exception of the Rajputs, were forbidden to ride *palkis,* elephants or thoroughbred horses, or to carry arms". Aurangzib did what he conscientiously believed to be right, but these discriminating ordinances could not but hurt the feelings of his non-Muslim subjects.

His Religious Aim.

Jizya reimposed.

Other Prohibitions.

The Jats and Chhatrasal Bundela :—The first resistance to this policy was perceived in the Jat rebellion of 1669. The Jats of Mathura rose under Gokla and killed the *faujdar* in open battle. The rising was suppressed with ruthlessness but not before the imperial forces had lost 4,000 men. The second armed protest against the policy of intolerance and temple-breaking was led by a Bundela prince, Chhatrasal. His father Champat Rai had risen against Aurangzib early in his reign, but he had committed suicide to escape imprisonment. Chhatrasal had served the emperor in the Deccan and was no doubt inspired by the example of Shivaji. He took advantage of the rising discontent of the Hindus and assumed the rôle of a champion of the Hindu faith (1671). He gained many victories over the imperial forces and, before he died, had carved out an independent principality.

Gokla the Jat leader.

Champat Rai.

Success of Chhatrasal.

The Satnami Rebellion:—The next rebels came from the lowly ranks of artisans and agriculturists. The Satnamis were originally an inoffensive sect of Hindu devotees. Their strong centres were Narnaul (in the Patiala State) and Mewat (Alwar region). "They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling", writes Khafi Khan. "If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it". They were very superstitious, and we learn from a contemporary work, *Ma-asir-i Alamgiri,* that the sect consisted mostly of "goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners and other ignoble beings". The immediate cause of their rising is obscure, but they occupied Narnaul, and the situation grew so serious that "the king ordered his tents to be brought out". But the undisciplined cultivators were at last defeated by the professional soldiers led by well trained officers and "the outbreak was quelled".

The Satnamis an inoffensive Sect.

Khafi Khan on the Satnamis.

Suppression of the Rising.

The Sikhs:—The religious policy of Aurangzib caused discontent among another sect as well. We have seen how Arjun, the fifth *guru* of the Sikhs, was put to death by Jahangir. His son Har Gobind trained his disciples as soldiers and Tegh Bahadur, the ninth *guru,* encouraged the Kashmiri Pundits to resist religious persecution. He was arrested and taken to Delhi. Tegh Bahadur was offered the alternative of death or conversion, but he refused to apostatise and was beheaded after being mercilessly tortured (1675). His head he lost, but his faith he did not give up, and his example was a source of great inspiration to his disciples.

Har Govind.

Execution of Tegh Bahadur.

The Rajput Revolt :—The Sikh power was still in its infancy but the emperor soon alienated the Rajputs who had hitherto been the staunchest supporters of the throne. Raja Jasovant Sinha of Marwar, "who had gone to Kabul with reinforcements",

Death of Jasovant.

died at Jamrud on the Afghan frontier (December 1678).

Birth of posthumous Sons.

Aurangzib decided to avail himself of this opportunity and annex Marwar. Two posthumous sons were, however, born to Jasovant at Lahore (1679). One of them died soon afterwards, but the other, Ajit Sinha, arrived at Delhi with his father's principal followers. The

Attitude of Aurangzib towards Marwar.

emperor offered to bring up the young prince in his harem, or, according to another contemporary account, "the throne of Jodhpur was offered to Ajit on condition of his turning Muslim". This the Rathor chiefs resolved to prevent at any cost. Everything dear to them, their king, their country and their faith, was at stake, and they were prepared to lay down their lives rather than accept the emperor's terms. But reckless courage alone would be of no use. Luckily for the

Durgadas.

young Raja, one of the chiefs, Durgadas, knew how to combine stratagem with daring, and patriotism with diplomacy. A band of determined Rathors fell on the imperial force that Aurangzib had sent to seize the Ranis and the infant, and before this small body of Rajputs could be annihilated, Durgadas rode away with the intended victims. He rode nine miles before he was overtaken and then another small company turned to face the pursuers and hold them back as long as they could. It was in this manner that the handful of Rathor heroes fought their enemies and barred their way until their lawful king safely reached the principality of his ancestors. Aurangzib now took the field in person and "Jodhpur and all the great towns in the plain fell and were pillaged ; the temples were thrown down and mosques erected on their sites". But the Rathors were not long left to fight the emperor

The Rana joins the Rathors.

without an ally. Rana Raj Sinha promptly espoused the cause of Ajit Sinha. The Rana was a relative of Ajit as his mother was a Sisodia princess and Aurangzib's impolitic imposition of the *jizya* afforded the ruler of

Mewar another strong excuse for taking up arms. The emperor at once invaded Mewar but the Rana knew the strength of his enemy and betook himself to the mountain fastnesses after laying waste the plains. The towns and hamlets of Mewar were totally deserted and the work of destruction was completed by the imperial army. The temples were deliberately destroyed and the images were broken. But the Rajputs continued a guerilla warfare. Emboldened by success, they surprised the army of Prince Akbar, the emperor's fourth son, and carried off the provisions intended for the prince's forces. The imperial army was completely demoralised and remained "motionless through fear".

Invasion of Mewar.

Demolition of Temples.

The Imperial army demoralised.

Rebellion of Akbar:—Prince Muhammad Akbar was supposed to be the favourite son of his father, but he proved untrustworthy at this crisis. He rebelled against Aurangzib in the hope of wresting the crown from him with Rajput support (1681). Had he struck quickly, the emperor might have been caught at a disadvantage, but the prince had not his father's brain or energy and a forged letter frightened his Rajput allies away at the critical moment. Akbar fled for his life, but Durgadas was soon convinced of the innocence of his late ally. He gallantly undertook to conduct the fugitive prince to a safe asylum. Accompanied by his Rathor friend, Akbar travelled through Khandesh and Baglana and received a warm welcome at the court of Sambhaji, the King of the Marathas. But about six years later he left India for good and sailed for Persia.

Mistake of Akbar.

His Flight.

Leaves India.

Peace with the Rana :—Convinced that he could not subjugate Rajputana by force, Aurangzib concluded a treaty with Raj Sinha's son and successor, Jaya Sinha. The Rana ceded a few districts in lieu of *jizya* and the imperial force withdrew from Mewar

Peace with Mewar.

(1681). Marwar was not so lucky. The emperor felt that his presence was more urgently needed in the Deccan now that his rebellious son was there and departed for the south soon afterwards. The war was continued by the local officers with indifferent success. But they gradually lost ground and Durgadas, the Rathor leader, gave them no rest. At last they were compelled to pay *Chauth* to their unrelenting enemy, unable to check his aggression. The war was not concluded when the emperor died in the Deccan (1707). Some two years later Ajit Sinha entered his father's capital and his claims were recognised by the Emperor of Delhi. The war brought Aurangzib neither profit nor prestige. It alienated Mewar and Marwar and caused troubles elsewhere.

War with Marwar continues.

Rajputs exact Chauth.

Recognition of Ajit Sinha.

The Second Jat Rising :—The emperor's absence in the Deccan enabled the turbulent tribes of North India to raise their heads again. The north had been denuded of men and money; the emperor, his sons and the ablest of his generals were all in the Deccan, and the officers left in Hindusthan found it difficult to cope with the lawless elements there. In the very neighbourhood of Agra the Jats rose for a second time (1685). Their leader Rajaram grew so audacious that he plundered Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (1688). In 1691 their principal stronghold was reduced, but this did not bring the troubles to an end. The Jats found an efficient leader in Churaman, who welded his disorganised followers into a strong military power after Aurangzib's death.

Rajaram the Jat.

Churaman.

Shivaji :—The Marathas had long been a thorn in the side of the fast-expanding Timurid power in the Deccan, but greater preoccupations in the north had prevented Aurangzib from proceeding there in person. He arrived at Aurangabad in 1682 with the intention of annexing Bijapur and Golkonda and exterminating

AURANGZIB'S EMPIRE

Kabul
YUSUF ZAI
KABUL
Peshawar
KASHMIR
Kanduhar
Jhelam R
Chenab R
Ravi R
Bias R
LAHORE
Lahore
Multan
Sutlej R
MULTAN
DELHI
Delhi
Indus R
TATTA
(Sind)
Jodhpur
Ajmer
AJMER
AGRA
Agra
Jumna R
Ganges R
OUDH
Lucknow
Gogra R
Chambal R
Gwalior
Allahabad
ALLAHABAD
Udaipur
MALWA
Kalpi
BIHAR
Patna
Rajmahal
KUCH
Dacca
BENGAL
Chandarnagar
Serampur
Calcutta
Ujjain
Jodhia
GUJARAT
Narbada R
Somnath
Diu
Surat
Burhanpur
KHANDESH
Ellora
BERAR
Aurangabad
Mahanadi R
ORISSA
Bombay
AHMADNAGAR
GOLCONDA
Bijapur
Belgaum
Krishna R
Golconda
Masulipatam
Goa
Karwar
Ankola
Hubli
Chandragiri
Vellore
Pulicat
Madras
Mysore
Bangalore
Arni
Pondicherry
CHIEFS
Calicut
Cochin
Madura

.......Marks the Boundary
of Aurangzib's Empire in 1700
........Marks Shivaji's Possessions
in 1680

Aurangzib in the Deccan.

the Marathas. Shivaji was then no more,—he had died two years previously—but his task had been accomplished and the Marathas were the foremost military power in the Deccan when Aurangzib appeared on the scene.

Early Life of Shivaji.

Shahji.

Shivaji was born at Shivner near Junnar, either in 1627, as historians of the older school hold, or three years later (1630), as others assert. His father Shahji had played the king-maker during the closing years of the Nizamshahi dynasty. When the kingdom of Ahmadnagar was annexed by Shahjahan, Shahji entered the service of Bijapur. He retained his old *Jagir* of Puna (Poona) and Supa and his new master gave him a more extensive fief in the Karnatak where he was employed. Shahji removed to his new *Jagir* with his second wife. His son Shivaji was left at Puna (Poona) with his mother under the guardianship of an able Brahmana, Dadaji Konddev. What education, if any, Shivaji received we do not know. He grew up to be a bold soldier of adventurous spirit and gathered round him some young men of similar outlook. An ardent Hindu, Shivaji aspired to found an independent Hindu kingdom. On his mother's side he was descended from the royal Yadavas of Devagiri ; his father claimed descent from the Sisodias of Mewar. To revive the lost glories of his ancestors became the ambition of the young Maratha chief.

Dadaji Konddev.

Shivaji's Aim.

Capture of Torna.

Annexation of Jawli.

About 1646 he captured the fortress of Torna. His guardian Dadaji does not appear to have approved of these dangerous designs ; but he died soon afterwards and Shivaji extended his jurisdiction, built new forts and acquired others by force, fraud and bribery. His activities had to be suspended when his father was put under arrest (1648), but after Shahji had been granted a conditional pardon at the instance of his friends at the Bijapur court, Shivaji annexed the small principality

of Jawli, then held by a semi-independent Maratha prince. The ruler of Jawli was murdered by an agent



Shivaji

of Shivaji to facilitate his plans and Shivaji next turned his arms against the imperial territories, but a peace was patched up when Aurangzib left for

the north to strike for his father's throne. In 1659 the Bijapur government decided to take strong measures against Shivaji and put an end to his power once for all. Afzal Khan, an experienced general and one of the foremost nobles of Bijapur, volunteered his services and was sent against the Maratha rebel with a strong force. His proceedings were marked by unconcealed intolerance of Hinduism and he desecrated the temples of Tuljapur and Pandharpur. Foiled in his attempt to draw Shivaji out of his impregnable stronghold of Pratapgad by such deliberate insults to his religion, Afzal opened negotiations with him. The two adversaries met, very slightly attended, to discuss peace terms and the Marathas unanimously allege that the stalwart Muslim general tried to stab and strangle the slightly built Maratha while they were embracing each other. Shivaji had been prepared for such a contingency and, though apparently unarmed, carried a small dagger (*Bichwa*) in his sleeve and a set of sharp iron claws (*Vaghnakh* or tiger's claw) on his fingers. The Muslim general was killed, his army was routed and his camp plundered.*

Afzal Khan.

Desecration of temples.

Death of Afzal.

Great danger now faced Shivaji. His territories were invaded by the Bijapur army and he extricated himself from a tight corner with great difficulty (1660). At the same time Shayista Khan, the new viceroy of the Deccan, occupied Puna and captured Chakan and gradually cleared the Kalyan district of the Marathas. But in 1663 Shivaji dealt a blow at Shayista Khan that completely demoralised the imperial forces. One night Shivaji entered the apartments of the viceroy with a few companions, slew the Khan's son and about forty of his attendants, and then safely returned to the neighbouring stronghold of Sinhagad. The viceroy himself

Shayista Khan.

Night Attack on his Camp.

* This account is also supported by foreign evidence.

barely escaped with his life and lost a thumb. This daring exploit added immensely to the prestige of Shivaji and next year he signalised his triumph by sacking Surat, then the richest port in the east. These repeated misfortunes lowered the imperial prestige to such an extent that Aurangzib sent Jaya Sinha, Raja of Amber, against the Marathas. Jaya Sinha combined varied military experience with uncommon diplomatic ability and he had a competent lieutenant in Dilir Khan. After the reduction of Purandar, Shivaji sued for terms and was compelled to surrender all but twelve of his forts (1665). But he was permitted to compensate himself for his territorial losses at the expense of the Sultan of Bijapur against whom he now co-operated with Jaya Sinha. The Deccan proved the grave of many reputations and Jaya Sinha's Bijapur campaign met with little success. He was anxious to remove Shivaji from the troubled area and induced him to go to Agra.

First Sack of Surat.

Jaya Sinha.

Treaty of Purandar.

Shivaji goes to Agra.

Shivaji was disappointed with his reception at Agra. What exactly happened it is difficult to ascertain. He was evidently guilty of some breach of court etiquette and his residence was placed under guard. An ordinary man would succumb to despair under such circumstances, but his extraordinary resourcefulness never deserted Shivaji. He feigned illness and then pretended recovery, and continued to send presents of fruits and sweetmeats to the nobles of Agra as a thanksgiving for his fictitious cure. When all suspicions were allayed he and his son concealed themselves in two empty baskets and were safely conveyed out of Agra. Shivaji eluded all the spies of Aurangzib and succeeded in reaching his home in safety after visiting on his way the sacred places of the Hindus (1666).

Flight from Agra.

Temporary Peace.

Shivaji concluded a peace with the viceroy on his

return home and reorganised his government. But war was reopened in c. 1669. The Marathas quickly recovered their lost forts and Surat was sacked for a second time (1670). In 1672 Shivaji demanded *Chauth* from Surat and two years later he had himself formally crowned at Raigad with great pomp and splendour (1674). He assumed the title of *Chhatrapati* (Lord of the Umbrella) and *Gobrahmana-pratipalaka* (protector of cows and Brahmanas).

Second Sack of Surat.

Coronation of Shivaji.

The tribal rising on the N. W. frontier now demanded the personal attention of the emperor and a part of the imperial army in the Deccan was transferred to the tribal area. Shivaji arrived at a friendly understanding with the ruler of Golkonda, invaded the Karnatak and took possession of Jinji (1677) and Vellore (1678) with the adjoining districts. Two years later he died (1680). His kingdom roughly included the entire coast from the modern Dharampur state (near Surat) in the north to Karwar in the south with the exception of the Portuguese settlements (Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Goa). The eastern boundary was an irregular line running from Baglana to Kolhapur. A part of western Karnatak as well as a big fragment of the present kingdom of Mysore besides some places in the Madras Presidency were under his government.

Alliance with Golkonda.

Karnatak Expedition.

The Extent of his Kingdom.

Shivaji as a Man and Ruler :—As a man and ruler Shivaji occupies a deservedly high place in the history of India. He fought against enormous odds and under great difficulties. The Timurid empire was at the zenith of its power when Shivaji challenged its supremacy. But the petty *Jagirdar* triumphed over the mighty emperor and not only founded a kingdom but built a nation. Throughout the next century the Marathas were the dominant power in India and at one time the descendant of Aurangzib held his throne as the puppet of a Maratha chief. As a

A Great Man.

man, Shivaji was much in advance of his age. He was free from the prevalent vices of his time and his virtues extorted the eulogy of his bitterest enemies. Khafi Khan, who regarded him as a "hell-dog", writes, "Shivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories, ... and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands". Though a devout Hindu, he was never intolerant of other faiths and he deeply venerated a Muslim saint, Sheikh Muhammad. He granted rent-free land to provide for the illumination of Muslim shrines and mosques, and we learn from Khafi Khan that "he (Shivaji) made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Wherever a copy of the sacred Quran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musulman followers". He treated the Capuchin fathers (Christian monks) of Surat with great respect when he sacked that town for the first time. A friend of the poor and the oppressed, Shivaji was held in great esteem by his people. To them he was not an ordinary human being but the incarnation of Shiva himself. To the Hindus of other provinces he was the champion of their faith, the defender of their religion.

High Moral Virtues.

Khafi Khan's Eulogies.

Attitude towards Muslims.

Champion of Hinduism.

His Government :—Shivaji was, like the Muslim kings of India, an autocrat. He was the supreme head of the state and could do almost anything his conscience dictated and policy permitted. He was assisted in his administration by a council of eight *pradhans* or ministers. Six of them held military commands besides their civil duties, and at least three of them were charged with provincial administration as well. There were no fewer than thirty departments of the

An Autocrat.

Council of eight.

state and these were also placed under the principal ministers. Shivaji's kingdom was divided into a number of provinces. The governors were, like the king, assisted by a staff of eight principal officers and held their office at the king's pleasure. The position of the Viceroy of the Karnatak was somewhat different from the other provincial governors and he enjoyed greater power and discretion.

Provincial Governments.

The Army :—A born military leader Shivaji organised his army on a new model. He discouraged the *Jagir* system and paid his men and officers in money. He introduced a regular grade of officers both in the infantry and in the cavalry, and although he mostly led his force in person the army was formally placed under a *Senapati,* or Commander-in-chief, who had a seat on the council of ministers. He built a number of forts at strategical places but the supreme authority in the forts was vested conjointly in three officers of similar rank to provide against treachery. A strict disciplinarian, Shivaji forbade his men to bring with them their womenfolk, and the Maratha army was singularly free from female followers in Shivaji's days. The spoils of war belonged to the state, and the soldier had no share in it. It was no small achievement on Shivaji's part that he succeeded in converting the hillmen of Mawal into excellent soldiers. The army consisted mainly of the *bargirs* or soldiers paid and equipped by the state and the *silahdar* element was eliminated as far as possible. The *silahdar* was a free lance who paid for his own equipment and when he came with a body of soldiers he paid and equipped them at his own expense and got a stipulated sum from the state. With remarkable foresight Shivaji also organised a fighting fleet and although its achievements under him may not be considered very glorious,

Abolition of Jagirs.

Regular Grades of Officers.

Forts.

Discipline.

Bargir.

Silahdar.

Shivaji's Navy.

the Maratha fleet under the Angrias held its own against the English, the Portuguese and the Dutch.

Revenue System :—For revenue and administrative purposes Shivaji divided his kingdom into a number of *prants* or provinces. Each *prant* was subdivided into *parganas* and *tarfs,* and the lowest unit was the village. The assessment was made after a careful survey and for this purpose Shivaji introduced a uniform unit of measurement. The state's share was fixed at two-fifths of the produce, but the cultivator had the option of paying in either money or kind. But the hill tracts of Maharashtra could not be expected to yield much in land revenue. Shivaji had therefore to look elsewhere for the money he wanted. The neighbouring territories were completely at his mercy and his swift horsemen often raided the imperial provinces as well as the kingdom of Bijapur. The harassed people of these provinces found it profitable to buy off the invaders. Shivaji was prepared to leave them unmolested provided they paid him *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi.* The *Chauth,* in theory, amounted to a quarter of the government revenue while the *Sardeshmukhi* meant an additional levy of 10 per cent. But the second contribution was demanded as Shivaji claimed to be the hereditary *Sardeshmukh* of Maharashtra, which was clearly a legal fiction. The practice of levying *Chauth* was probably borrowed from the petty Raja of Ramnagar, now Dharampur, who exacted a contribution of the same name from the Portuguese subjects of Daman. Whatever their origin, the collection of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* gave the Marathas a hold on districts outside their jurisdiction which led to their annexation by easy steps.

Assessment.

Chauth and Sardeshmukhi.

Origin of Chauth.

Aurangzib in the South :—Aurangzib reached Aurangabad in 1682. His first operations against the

Marathas were not successful and he decided to annex the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda before coming to grips with the Marathas whose strength and resources he certainly underestimated. The kingdom of Bijapur had been considerably weakened by the rise of the Maratha power, and party faction at the court undermined its strength still further. The siege operations were commenced in 1685. Bijapur did not capitulate till September of the next year (1686). Sikandar, the last of the Adilshahi kings, surrendered to the emperor, and the dynasty founded by Yusuf Adil came to an end. The same fate overtook the Qutbshahi dynasty in the following year (1687) and Golkonda was annexed by Aurangzib. He extended his territories as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly in the south. But though the old states succumbed to Aurangzib, he could not annihilate the newly born Maratha power.

Fall of Bijapur.

Fall of Golkonda.

Sambhaji and his Successors:—Shivaji was succeeded by his eldest son Sambhaji, a young man of loose character but a soldier of no mean ability. He fought the overwhelming force which Aurangzib had brought to the Deccan with great bravery and resolution, but was afterwards captured by a Muslim officer under discreditable circumstances (1689). Unwilling to survive his disgrace, Sambhaji scurrilously abused the emperor and his Prophet and was put to a horrible death.

His Character.

Death of Sambhaji.

Shahu, the infant son of Sambhaji, was captured when Raigad, the Maratha capital, was reduced by Itiqad Khan. Shahu was kindly treated by Aurangzib and was brought up in his harem. Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji and the acknowledged head of the Maratha state, however, effected his escape and safely reached Jinji in the Karnatak. Though he was absent from Maharashtra, his cause found an able supporter there in Ramchandra Pant, a Brahmana minister, while

Shahu.

Rajaram.

Ramchandra Pant.

his affairs at Jinji were ably conducted by Prahlad Niraji, the first Pratinidhi. **Prahlad Niraji.** The roving bands of Maratha horsemen under Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav harassed the imperial forces and cut off their supplies. **Santaji and Dhanaji.** If the Maratha chronicles are to be credited, even the emperor's camp was not safe from their daring raids. **Fall of Jinji.** Jinji stood a siege for nearly eight years (1690-1698), and before it was captured by Zulfiqar Khan, Rajaram safely left the place and set out for the Maratha country. Aurangzib captured fort after fort but he could not subjugate the Marathas or conquer their land. The spirit with which the great Shivaji had inspired his people was not yet dead ; and Aurangzib found to his dismay that the military occupation of a whole country with a hostile population was not practicable. **Death of Rajaram.** When Rajaram died in 1700, his widow **Tarabai.** Tarabai, a woman of masterful spirit, took up the administration in the name of her young son Shivaji III. Not content with fighting the imperialists in their own country, the Maratha leaders now carried sword and fire into the neighbouring provinces. Malwa had been raided while Rajaram was yet alive (1699). **Marathas enter Malwa, Berar and Gujarat.** In 1703 a band of the Marathas entered Berar and in 1706 they invaded Gujarat and sacked Baroda. Conscious of failure and apprehensive of the coming disaster, Aurangzib died in March, 1707, at Ahmadnagar. He came to conquer the Deccan and found there his last resting place. With him vanished all the glories and the power of the Timurid empire in India.

Aurangzib as Man and Ruler :—**Harshly judged.** Aurangzib has been more harshly judged than he probably deserves. To live and let live was not the maxim of the Timurid princes. For them the only alternative to the crown was the grave. If Aurangzib had not killed his brothers, they would have killed him. His father had removed

almost all his possible rivals by poison and sword, but in justice to Aurangzib it should be noted that he did not murder all his nephews. Nor was he the first Timurid prince to rise against his father. The pernicious example had already been set by Jahangir and Shahjahan, only their efforts had not been so successful as Aurangzib's. Indian history affords many instances of royal parricides, both Hindu and Muhammadan. Aurangzib was at least free from that revolting crime.

Bad Precedents.

He was a zealous Muslim and scrupulously respected all the injunctions of the *Quran*. The glorification of his faith was the supreme ambition of his life. Once, while employed in Central Asia, he knelt down to offer his daily prayer at the prescribed time, when fighting was going on all around him. As a ruler he did not prove a success. Trusting none and by none trusted, he tried to do everything in person and look into every detail of the administration. This was beyond the capacity of any man, however industrious, and the administration steadily deteriorated. His reluctance to punish his nobles severely was in part responsible for the laxity from which almost every department suffered. Khafi Khan gives the following estimate of the emperor, —"of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur—nay of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one, since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long-suffering, and sound judgment he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object". Aurangzib was in many respects a great man

A zealous Muslim.

Not a successful Ruler

Inefficient Government.

Khafi Khan on Aurangzib.

but not a great ruler ; a great soldier but not a great leader ; a clever diplomat but not a wise statesman.

Did not Encourage Art and Letters.

Unlike his predecessor he did not encourage art and letters. Himself an ardent student of theology, he took care to "educate his children in sacred lore". He built no sumptuous mausoleum for himself and left strict instructions that his funeral rites were to be performed with the strictest economy and rigid simplicity. He forbade the compilation of history and prohibited music in his court. When the musicians organised a mock funeral for their deceased muse, the emperor grimly asked them to bury her deep. His tenacity of purpose extorts the admiration of those who cannot approve of his policy. Undaunted by failure, unsupported by his sons, the emperor pursued his lonely path with an unswerving resolution that is really praiseworthy.

His Last days Unhappy.

The last days of Aurangzib were extremely unhappy. Prince Muhammad, his eldest son, had rebelled against him in the early years of his reign. Akbar not only proved wanting in filial duty but embittered his father's feelings by a taunting reference to his past conduct. Both Shah Alam and Kambakhsh were under suspicion of treason. Aurangzib's last letters were pathetic. When his strength was failing and the tide of life visibly ebbing out he found his sons and generals busily preparing for the coming contest. In vain did he recommend a partition of the empire, for he knew very well that his last instructions would go unheeded. With the ruin of his empire looming large before his eyes, worn by toil and torn by anxiety, the imperial recluse died the death of a true Muslim, penitent for his sins but confident of his Creator's mercy.

CHAPTER XXVII

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE TIMURID DYNASTY

Shah Alam Bahadur Shah :—Aurangzib's fears were not ill founded. His death was the signal for another civil war and his three surviving sons prepared for hostilities. The youngest, Muhammad Kambakhsh, was appointed to be governor of Bijapur and could not leave the Deccan at once. But the eldest, Shah Alam or Bahadur Shah, as he was henceforth called, hurried towards Agra from Kabul, while Azam Shah also was racing for the same city from the south. Bahadur Shah was prepared to share the empire with his brothers and proposed a partition on the lines suggested by his father. But Azam would not hear of any terms. He staked everything on the chances of war. The two brothers met near Jajau a few miles from Agra, and Azam lost the day as well as his life (June 1707). After a brief expedition to Rajputana, the new emperor marched to the Deccan where Kambakhsh was defeated and slain near Haidarabad (1709).

War of succession.

Battle of Jajau.

End of Kambakhsh.

Peace with the Rajputs :—Meanwhile the Rajput rulers of Mewar, Marwar and Amber (Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaipur) entered into an alliance and gained some success against Bahadur Shah's officers. But the emperor adopted conciliatory measures and peace was once more restored in Rajputana. During this reign the Sikhs proved to be the principal source of trouble.

Rajput Alliance.

The Sikhs :—Nanak, the founder of this sect, was born in 1469 at Talwandi (Nankana of to-day),

Nanak.

about thirty-five miles from Lahore. His father was a village account-keeper of the Khatri caste. Given to contemplation from his boyhood, Nanak proved unfit for his father's profession, as indeed for any worldly occupation. He was a religious teacher of peaceful proclivities and tried to arrive at the fundamental truth underlying all religions. When he died in 1538, he nominated one of his disciples, Angad, as his successor though he had two sons of his own. Angad's successor, Amardas, however, left the pontifical office to his son-in-law, Ramdas. It was during his regime that the pool of Amritsar was enlarged and improved and preparations were made for the construction of the famous Sikh temple. A town soon sprang up around the tank, which became a strong centre of the Sikh religion. Henceforth the *Guru's* office became hereditary. The fifth *Guru*, Arjun Mal, son of Ramdas, compiled the *Adi Granth*, or "the First Sacred Book", as the original Sikh scripture is called. While his predecessors were content with the voluntary offerings of their disciples, Arjun introduced the system of a more or less compulsory tribute to be collected by his agents. The early *Gurus* were religious teachers pure and simple and did not participate in politics. But the great wealth and influence of Arjun made him an object of suspicion and he was put to death by Jahangir as a partisan of Khusrav. His son Hargovind was a man of warlike spirit. He rose in rebellion against Shahjahan and trained his disciples in arms. The ninth *Guru* Tegh Bahadur died the death of a martyr, as we have already seen. He left the Punjab for some unknown reason and lived in Bihar for some time and travelled as far as Assam. His son Govind, the tenth and the last *Guru*, was born at Patna in 1666. Guru Govind Singh was a remarkable person in more than one respect. He was not a mere theologian and made

Angad. **Amardas.** **Ramdas.** **Adi Granth.** **Hargovind.** **Tegh Bahadur.** **Guru Govind Singh.**

comparatively little contribution to the religious doctrines of his sect. But he organised the armed

The Khalsa.

brotherhood, known as the Khalsa, and he can rightly claim to be the real founder of the Sikh military power. His father's fate must have convinced him of the need of military organisation and there was no lack of warlike elements among the Sikhs. The great majority of them were Jats by origin and under the leadership of their *Guru* they readily took to arms. The ceremony of initiation (*Pahul*) was quite simple and consisted of partaking of consecrated drink stirred by a double edged dagger. The members of the brotherhood joined in a ceremonial dinner and thus completely renounced all ideas of caste. Guru Govind asked the Sikhs to abstain from tobacco and to wear the 'five k's', *Kes* (long hair), *Kachchha* (short drawers), *Kara* (iron bangles), *Kripan* (a dagger or

Guru Govind's Granth.

sword) and *Kangha* (comb). He also compiled a supplementary *Granth*. The *Guru* was to the Sikhs the *Sacha Padshah* or 'the true king', and Govind's *Granth* is, therefore called the *Daswen Padshah ka Granth*, the Book of the Tenth Sovereign.

Govind fought against the hill chiefs of the neighbourhood as well as the Muslim *Faujdars* and nobles. Two of his sons fell into the hands of the *Faujdar* of Sarhind and were put to death in cold blood. It appears that Govind sent some trusty Sikhs to assist Bahadur Shah on his way from Kabul to Agra who were probably present at the battle of Jajau. Later on the *Guru* himself accompanied the emperor to the

Death of Guru Govind.

Deccan. In 1708 he was stabbed to death by a Pathan but the various stories of his murder do not agree. All his sons had predeceased Govind Singh and the Sikhs, as a body, do not recognise any *Guru* after him.

After Govind Singh's death the Sikhs found an

able military leader in a person of mysterious origin. He is variously called Banda or slave and the false *Guru*. Although nothing trustworthy is known about his early life, Banda soon gathered a large following and wreaked a terrible vengeance on Wazir Khan, *Faujdar* of Sarhind, for the execution of Guru Govind's sons. Banda himself was guilty of terrible atrocities and he became a terror to the Muhammadans of the province. The emperor took the field in person, although the local officers had been diligent in quelling the disturbance. Banda was besieged in the fortress of Lohgarh, which was captured by the imperialists, but not before the rebel leader had escaped.

Banda.

Defeat of Banda.

The Successor of Bahadur Shah:—Bahadur Shah died in 1712. He was "a man of mild and equable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault". His death was followed by a fresh war of succession, and the most worthless of his four sons secured the throne with the help of Zulfiqar Khan. Jahandar Shah, the new emperor, was a worthless profligate and the following observation of Khafi Khan is worth quoting. "In the brief reign of Jahandar, violence and debauchery had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors. There seemed to be a likelihood that *Qazis* would turn toss-pots and the *muftis* become tipplers". Zulfiqar and his puppet did not enjoy power long. In 1713 Jahandar was deposed and murdered, Zulfiqar was executed, and another titular emperor was placed on the throne while the real power passed into the hands of the king-makers.

Another War of Succession.

Jahandar Shah.

Zulfiqar, the king-maker.

Farrukhsiyar and the Sayyid Brothers:—The new emperor was Farrukhsiyar, a nephew of Jahandar. He owed his elevation to the Sayyids of Barha and it was they who controlled the government and ruled the

Sayyids of Barha.

country. The unworthy descendants of Babur and Akbar were no better than the toys of their ministers. In the history of this period, the emperors may, for all practical purposes, be ignored. The ambitious nobles conspired and fought for their own selfish ends, and the interests of the empire suffered. The nobles were ranged in two principal groups. Those who were born in India and had been long settled in the country formed the Hindusthani party irrespective of their faith. Thus the Sayyids of Barha and most of the Afghan nobles regarded themselves as children of the soil, as did Khvaja Asim (better known as Khan Dauran) whose ancestors came from Badakhshan. These Indian Muslims relied mostly on the support of their Hindu countrymen and friends. The foreign nobles were as a class opposed to the Hindusthanis and they were all indiscriminately called Mughuls. But they were sub-divided into two groups according to the land of their origin. Thus the nobles hailing from Transoxiana and other parts of Central Asia formed the Turani party and were mostly Sunnis by conviction. The most notable of their leaders were Muhammad Amin Khan and his cousin Chin Qilich Khan, better known as Nizam-ul-Mulk. The immigrants from Persian territories were Shias and belonged to the Irani party. The most prominent among them were Zulfiqar Khan, the king-maker, and his father Asad Khan. The members of the various groups had hardly any common principle except that of self-aggrandisement, and party ties were by no means very firm. It will suffice to understand the political intrigues of this period if we remember that during the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah the Irani party under the leadersrip of Zulfiqar Khan was in the ascendant. Next, the Hindusthani party came into power with the help of the Turanis,

Three Political Parties.

The Hindusthani Party.

Mughuls.

The Turani Party.

The Irani Party.

Political Strife of the Period

to be ousted later by a combination of the two groups of the foreign nobles.

Farrukhsiyar was weak and wicked, faithless and fickle, and the Sayyid brothers had an uneasy time during the six troublesome years this ungrateful prince occupied the throne. One of the Sayyids, Abdullah Khan, became the Wazir or prime minister, but he was hardly qualified for this high office. He was a soldier and had no previous training for his new department. The burden of the government, therefore, fell on his more capable brother, Sayyid Husain Ali, who commanded the army. The king's friends succeeded in creating a misunderstanding between the ministers and their sovereign from the first and the constant intrigue and the ingratitude of Farrukhsiyar so disgusted the Sayyids that they at last removed him from the throne, and, as the politics of those days dictated, first blinded and then put him to death (1719). Farrukhsiyar does not deserve our sympathy. He received from the ministers no worse treatment than he had given his possible rivals.

Farrukhsiyar.

Sayyid Abdullah.

Sayyid Husain Ali

End of Farrukhsiyar.

The Rajputs, Sikhs and Jats :—The military annals of this inglorious reign were by no means blank. Ajit Sinha of Jodhpur took advantage of the turmoil that followed Bahadur Shah's death to invade the imperial territories. Sayyid Husain Ali marched against him and the Raja came to terms without a single battle. The emperor had indeed secretly urged the Rajput chief to do away with the hated minister, but Ajit Sinha was not in a position to carry out his instructions. He made his formal submission and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the emperor (1714). Peace was concluded accordingly but the marriage was not celebrated until the next year (1715).

Expedition against Jodhpur.

Submission of the Raja.

Ajit Sinha was not the only person to exploit the unsettled condition of the country. Banda, the Sikh leader, came out of his hiding and began his former depredations. But in 1715 he was besieged in the fortress of Gurudaspur. After a valiant defence the Sikhs surrendered. They were sent to Delhi with their leader. The Sikh prisoners were, with a few exceptions, all executed. They died with the utmost nonchalance and "their attachment and devotion to their leader was wonderful to behold". Banda's execution was attended with uncommon cruelty. His young son was killed before his eyes and the Sikh leader's limbs were hacked off before he was decapitated. Thus died Banda, but the Sikh military power did not die with him.

Banda Again.

Death of Banda, 1716.

Churaman, the Jat leader, also renounced his allegiance in 1713. After a protracted campaign, in which the imperialists had little success, peace was concluded with the Jats at the instance of the Wazir (Abdullah Khan) and Churaman came to the court to pay his homage to the emperor.

Churaman, the Jat.

Muhammad Shah :—After the deposition of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyids placed two short-lived princes of the imperial house, Rafi-ud-Darajat and Rafi-ud-Daulah, on the throne. They did not survive more than a few months, and a fourth puppet was found in Roshan Akhtar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah. He ascended the throne as Muhammad Shah (1719). The new emperor was a young man of eighteen, and the Sayyids, no doubt, expected from him a docile submission. The young man, however, proved more cunning and intelligent than they had suspected. The Sayyids had during the seven years of their power made many enemies, the ablest of them being Nizam-ul-Mulk, and the young emperor found ready supporters in them. Husain Ali Khan was removed by assassination.

Rafi-ud-Darajat.

Rafi-ud-Daulah.

Abdullah tried to retain power by placing a more convenient puppet on the throne, but was defeated and thrown into prison (1720) where he died of poison two years later (1722). **Fall of the Sayyids.**

The fall of the Sayyids did not necessarily add to the prestige of the emperor. His new Wazir, Muhammad Amin Khan, died soon afterwards, and the office was conferred on Nizam-ul-Mulk whose rebellion in the Deccan during the last regime facilitated the emperor's plans so much. **Nizam-ul-Mulk (Asaf Jah).** Mir Qamar-ud-din, the future founder of the Haidarabad State, was born in India but his father Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang was a native of Samarqand and had migrated to this country during the reign of Aurangzib. He made his name and fame in the Deccan, and his son Qamar-ud-din was appointed to a small command in his thirteenth year. **First Appointment.** His promotion was rapid and in seven years' time he earned the title of Chin Qilich Khan. **Rapid Promotion.** When Aurangzib died (1707), Chin Qilich Khan was at Bijapur. He remained neutral during the war of succession and was removed from the Deccan by Bahadur Shah, who appointed him governor of Oudh. **Governor of Oudh.** For a time he retired from public life, but in the closing years of Bahadur Shah's reign he accepted office again with his father's title of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang. When Farrukhsiyar marched towards Agra, Ghazi-ud-din was placed in charge of the defence of that city; but he was secretly won over by the Sayyids. **At Agra.** His neutrality was rewarded with the viceroyalty of the Deccan and the titles of Khan Khanan and Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang. **Viceroy of the Deccan.** But this good understanding did not last long and he was transferred to Muradabad. It was decided later to remove him to Bihar. Before the Nizam could take charge of his new province Farrukhsiyar was deposed and he was appointed to the government of Malwa. **Transfer to Malwa.** The foundation of his future greatness was laid

in Malwa. Here his proceedings gave just cause for suspicion; and the Sayyids, disregarding a previous promise, again ordered his transfer. But the Nizam refused to leave Malwa and openly prepared for war. Dilwar Ali Khan and Alim Ali Khan were defeated and slain by him; and Sayyid Husain Ali was preparing to go against the Nizam in person when he was stabbed to death. The fall of the Sayyids spared him further exertion; and when his cousin, the Wazir died, he was called upon to accept the highest office in the gift of his sovereign (1721). He reached Agra in January 1722, but the atmosphere of the court was not to his liking. He was essentially a man of action. Brought up under the stern regime of Aurangzib, he found himself absolutely out of his element at the gay court of Muhammad Shah. Convinced that he could not expect to render any useful service to the state, he returned to the Deccan where he founded an independent kingdom, though the fiction of the imperial suzerainty was maintained till the last. Another independent dynasty was founded in Oudh by Saadat Khan, an immigrant from Persia; and Bengal became independent for all practical purposes under Allahvardi Khan. The Rohilla Afghans settled in the tract to the north of the Ganges that now bears their name (Rohilkhand), and the Marathas extended their power far and wide. Thus within two decades of Aurangzib's death, his vast empire was completely broken up and the suzerainty of India passed into the hands of the Marathas.

Refuses to Leave his Province.

Appointed Wazir.

Founds an Independent Kingdom.

Saadat Khan of Oudh. Allahvardi of Bengal.

The Rohillas.

Break-up of the Timurid Empire.

Release of Shahu.

Shahu:—Shivaji II, better known as Shahu, was released by Azam Shah in 1707 at the suggestion of Zulfiqar Khan. It was pointed out that Shahu's return to his paternal principality would inevitably lead to a civil war and the Marathas would no longer be in a position to harass the imperial territories during the

absence of the main army from the Deccan. Nor was he disappointed in his expectations. Tarabai strongly opposed Shahu's claims and a long war ensued in the details of which we need not enter. It is enough to say that Shahu's cause triumphed in the long run and for his success he was immensely indebted to a Chitpavan Brahmana from the Konkan, Balaji Vishvanath.

Civil war.

Balaji Vishvanath :—Balaji Vishvanath was a man of very humble origin. He was a village account-keeper by birth, and the tyranny of the local Abyssinian rulers drove him from the home of his childhood. He showed his ability both as a civil administrator and as a military organiser before he was appointed Peshwa or prime minister by Shahu (1714). In theory the Pratinidhi held a superior office to that of the Peshwa, but the superior ability of Balaji Vishvanath and his more famous son Baji Rao I rendered the Peshwa the real head of the Maratha empire, while the king or the Chhatrapati was gradually relegated to the background. Balaji obtained from Sayyid Husain Ali (in reality, but from the puppet emperor in name) the formal grant of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the six *subahs* of the Deccan for his master Shahu. Shahu had forsaken his grand father's ideal of complete independence, and had no objection to acknowledge the overlordship of the emperor of Delhi. So the Maratha claims did not, in theory, militate against the suzerainty of Delhi. An eminently practical people, the Brahmana rulers of Maharashtra cared more for the substance of power than for its form, and the imperial grant of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* gave them an excellent opportunity of extending their empire.

Early Life.

Appointed Peshwa.

Chauth and Sardesh-mukhi of the Deccan.

During the stormy days of Rajaram the *Jagir* system had been revived. The Maratha adventurers

Jagir System Revived.

thus obtained a capital chance of carving out independent principalities for themselves. To this was added the right of collecting *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi.*

Balaji Vishvanath's Organisation of the Maratha Empire.

Balaji Vishvanath assigned distinct areas to the principal Maratha officers as their field of operation. In return they were expected to maintain a stipulated number of horse for the royal service and to collect the king's share of the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi.* This afforded the ambitious chiefs the necessary impetus for exerting themselves, and the disunion among the Muslim nobles enabled them to participate in their wars as paid partisans.

Baji Rao I :—Balaji Vishvanath died in 1720 and was succeeded in his office by his son Baji Rao I, a young man of great promise. The Peshwaship became hereditary in Balaji's family when Baji Rao's son a second Balaji, attained that office.

The Peshwa becomes the Supreme Head of the State.

In the declining years of Shahu the Peshwa became all in all and his authority obtained a legal sanction when it was bequeathed to him with certain reservation by the death-bed will of Shahu.

Baji Rao's Aims and Policy.

Baji Rao I was a great soldier and a statesman. He perceived that the Timurid empire was in its last gasp and the Marathas might easily secure the largest share if they could enlist the sympathy of the Hindu Chiefs and strike at the centre of the imperial power. But his views were not shared by all his colleagues and they suggested that it would be wiser to consolidate the Maratha power in the south before venturing into the distant provinces of the north. But Baji Rao's eloquence and enthusiasm converted his master and his scheme of northern expansion obtained the royal sanction. In order to enlist the sympathy of the Hindus he preached the ideal of *Hindu pad Padshahi* or a Hindu empire. When he invaded Malwa, the local Hindu Zemindars lent him their full support

although it cost them much in life and money. A civil war in Gujarat had enabled the Marathas to establish their hold in that rich province. But the Peshwa's intervention there was resented by the hereditary Senapati or Commander-in-Chief and the misunderstanding ended in open war. The defeat and death of the Senapati, Trimbak Rao Dabhade, left the Peshwa without any serious rival at home (1731). Outside the home territories he had influential friends in Raja Jaya Sinha Sawai of Amber and Chhatrasal Bundela. In 1737 he appeared in force in the environs of the imperial capital but did not enter it because he did not want to hurt the emperor's sentiments. Thus threatened, the emperor summoned the Nizam to his aid. The Nizam was jealous of the rising power of the Peshwa and willingly responded to the summons of his sovereign. He felt that unless the Maratha leader was humbled his own power in the Deccan would not be secure. The two rivals met near Bhopal and the younger man came out victorious. The Nizam was hopelessly outgeneralled and was completely cut off from his water-supply. He was therefore compelled to come to terms ; and the Maratha claims in Malwa were acknowledged although the imperial sanction was not obtained until much later. On the west coast the Marathas expelled the Portuguese from Salsette and Bassein (1739), when the news of Nadir Shah's invasion disturbed the Peshwa. Baji Rao at once decided to sink all his differences with his Muslim neighbours and to join them against the common enemy. But before anything was accomplished he died (1740).

Malwa and Gujarat.

Fight with the Senapati.

Rivalry with the Nizam.

War with the Portuguese.

Death of Baji Rao I.

Five Maratha Principalities :—The State which Baji Rao I ruled in his master's name was not a compact one. The revival of feudalism (*Jagir* system) in Rajaram's time led to the foundation of semi-independent principalities within the empire. The

creation of such states within the state weakened the central government and ultimately led to the downfall of the Maratha power. One of the earliest and most important of such principalities was Berar, then under Raghuji Bhonsla, a relative of Shahu by marriage. His family had risen to prominence during Rajaram's reign and was therefore older than that of the Peshwa. Gujarat had originally been granted to the Dabhades. But after the fall of the hereditary Senapati, the Gaikwads, his former subordinates, rose to power and established themselves at Baroda. Ranoji Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar had served with distinction under Baji Rao I. When Malwa was annexed to the Maratha state, the two officers obtained large grants in that province. They were the main pillars of Maratha power in the north and their descendants now rule the feudatory states of Gwalior and Indore. The Pawars also obtained a small fief in Malwa and established their headquarters at Dhar. Baji Rao was the greatest Peshwa of his line. A great military leader, he possessed statesmanship of a high order. Although his private life was not free from blemish, he strove hard for the good of the state. He can be rightly regarded as the second founder of the Maratha empire. He was about forty-two years of age at the time of his death.

Bhonslas of Berar.

Gaikwad of Baroda.

Sindhia of Gwalior and Holkar of Indore.

The Pawars of Dhar.

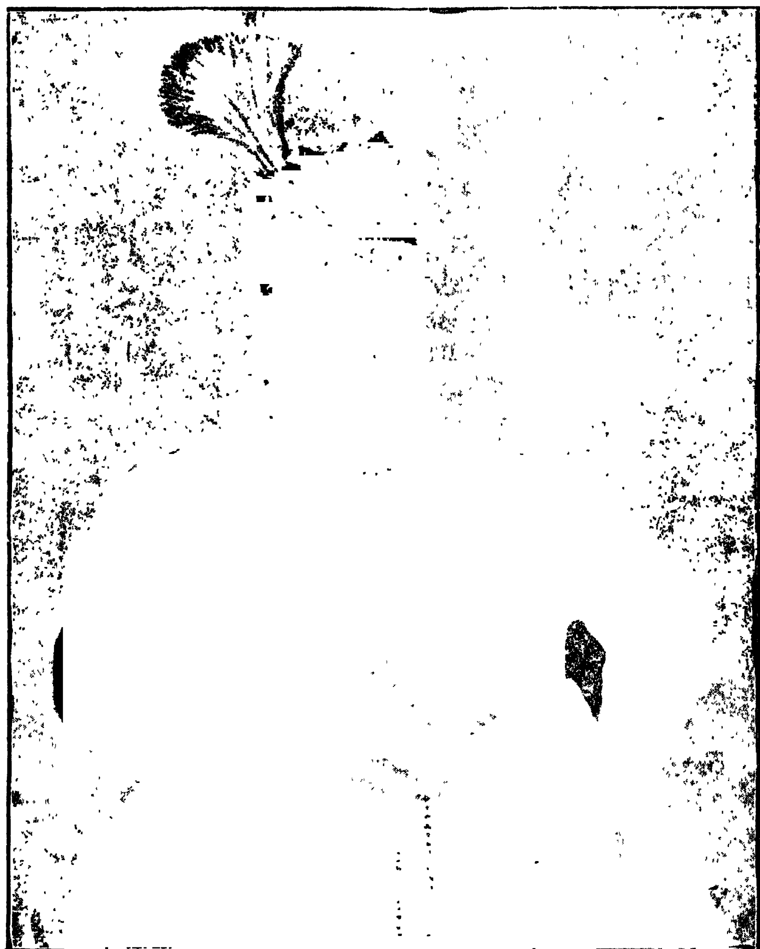
Invasion of Nadir Shah :—Though Baji Rao I respected the sanctity of the imperial capital, Delhi was not long spared the disgrace of alien occupation. The wealth and weakness of India alike tempted the aggression of strong neighbours. In the fourteenth century the greedy invader came from Central Asia ; in the eighteenth, the cupidity of a Persian adventurer was roused by the riches of Delhi and the notorious incapacity of its rulers. This adventurer was Nadir Quli Khan.

Originally a robber chief, he rose to be a general in his sovereign's army and finally deposed his king to rule in the name of his infant son. The infant died conveniently for him and Nadir became king of Persia in reality as well as in name (1736). Three years later he invaded India. Unlike Timur, he did not make religion an excuse for his aggression; but the alleged ill-treatment of his envoys served as a suitable plea. In 1739 he occupied Ghazni, Kabul and Lahore, but the ease-loving emperor and knights of his court did not deem it necessary to take any defensive measure. They suddenly shook off their lethargy when the Persian army was within a hundred miles of Delhi. The imperialists were routed at Karnal, and Muhammad Shah hurried to sue for peace. The two kings, the victor and the vanquished, together entered Delhi. At first things went smoothly, but a rumour of Nadir's death caused a tumult in which some of the Persian soldiers were slain. Nadir tried to suppress the disturbance, but the sight of his dead companions infuriated him. The Persian soldiers were let loose upon the doomed city, and we learn from a contemporary account that "the slaughter continued from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon; above 400 *Kazzlebash* (Persian) were killed, and of the citizens (great and small) 120,000 were slaughtered, others computed them 150,000". The market-places and dwelling houses were indiscriminately plundered and burnt and the great city offered the most awful scene of carnage and arson. At last Nadir called off his soldiers at the special request of Muhammad Shah. The massacre was stopped but peace was not restored. The principal citizens were deliberately tortured for money, and a contribution of three crores was levied upon the helpless inhabitants. It is said that four crores

Early Life of Nadir Shah.

Battle of Karnal.

Sack of Delhi.



Nadir Skah

were actually collected and the hoarded wealth of Delhi thus went into the invader's coffers. For eight weeks the wretched city suffered all the horrors of armed

lawlessness and then the ruthless conqueror left for his own country. Muhammad Shah retained his crown but lost all his lands beyond the Indus, the famous peacock throne of Shahjahan, and, worse still, what little prestige the emperor hitherto retained. The fall of the Timurid dynasty was now patent to the world.

Ahmad Shah Durrani :—In 1748 another invader, trained in the viciously efficient school of Nadir Shah, appeared in India. Ahmad Khan, an Afghan of the Abdali clan, rose to power after his master's death and established his authority over the eastern provinces of Nadir's empire. He styled himself, *Durr-i-Durran*, "the pearl of the age", and his clan was henceforth renamed the Durrani. His first onslaught against India proved a failure, but he invaded India a second time. In the meantime Muhammad Shah died (1748) and was succeeded by his son Ahmad. Ahmad of Delhi was compelled to cede the Punjab to Ahmad of Afghanistan and the empire was thus further reduced in extent. In 1754 Ghazi-ud-din, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, blinded and deposed Ahmad Shah and placed upon the throne another dummy king who bore the same title as the great Aurangzib and called himself Alamgir II. Ghazi-ud-din had enlisted the support of the Marathas beforehand and a strong Maratha force was present at Delhi when he was playing the king-maker. The restless minister next tried to wrest the Punjab from the Durrani's governor and Ahmad invaded India for the fourth time and occupied Delhi which once more became the scene of massacre and pillage (1756). The Marathas were expelled from some of their advanced posts, and the Afghan king thus came into conflict with the Hindu power of the Deccan.

Ahmad Shah of Delhi.

Alamgir II.

B laji Baji Rao :—Baji Rao I was succeeded by his eldest son, Balaji, as Peshwa (1740). Balaji was a

young man at the time, but he had served as his father's agent at Satara while a boy of twelve and he had a number of able and experienced councillors in his father's old servants and friends. Shahu died in 1749 and bequeathed the supreme authority in the state to the Peshwa with certain reservations. A young man, whom Tarabai introduced to the ministers as her grandson, was placed on the throne of Satara. Soon afterwards Tarabai rose in arms against the Peshwa and threw the young Raja into prison. Tarabai and her partisan Damaji Gaikwad were defeated but the Raja remained a prisoner in the fort of Satara and Balaji ruled supreme at Puna.

Death of Shahu.

Tarabai.

The Raja, a Prisoner.

The army underwent a revolutionary change during Balaji's regime. The light infantry formed the major part of Shivaji's forces. Baji Rao I had a more numerous cavalry, but the old tactics were retained. Balaji employed a large number of non-Maratha mercenaries with a view to introducing the western method of warfare. Thus the national character of the army was largely impaired and the traditional method of fighting was partly abandoned. Baji Rao I's aggressive wars had largely extended the empire but had impaired the finances of the state. Resolved to improve his financial position Balaji deliberately rejected his father's ideal of *Hindu pad Padshahi* and the policy of uniting the Hindu chiefs under a common banner. He resorted to the older plan of predatory warfare and even lent his services against Raghuji Bhonsla, then engaged in a war with the Nawab of Bengal. The depredations of Balaji's officers alienated the Rajput princes and a Hindu confederacy against the Indian and non-Indian Muslim powers was no longer possible.

Changes in the Army.

Baji Rao's Ideal Abandoned.

Evil Consequences of the New Policy.

But apparently the Maratha empire was at the zenith of its power, and in 1758 a strong force was

sent north under the Peshwa's brother Raghunath Rao or Raghoba. Raghoba was a dashing cavalry leader and quickly recovered the lost stations and occupied the Punjab. Then he returned to the Deccan without leaving an adequate force for the defence of the newly acquired province. When Ahmad Shah again entered India in 1759, he had no difficulty in driving away the small army of occupation he found in the Punjab. Sindhia and Holkar proved unequal to the task of defending northern India against Afghan encroachments and a vast army was sent from the south to contest the sovereignty of Hindusthan. The nominal commander of this huge army was Viswas Rao, the eldest son of the Peshwa, then a boy of seventeen. The real command was vested in the Peshwa's cousin Sadashiv Rao whose recent victory over (Nizam-ul-Mulk's son) Nizam Ali's forces at Udgir had greatly added to his prestige. But he was one of the staunchest champions of the western method of fighting which was but imperfectly understood and was guided by a Muslim mercenary, Ibrahim Khan Gardi, commander of the trained battalions of his army.

Raghoba's Occupation of the Punjab.

Ahmad Durrani comes to India.

Sadashiv Rao.

Battle of Udgir.

Third Battle of Panipat :—The two armies met at Panipat where the fate of India was decided for a third time. All the Muslim chiefs of Upper India had joined the Afghan leader. But the Rajputs, alienated by the unfriendly policy of Balaji, stood neutral, and Raghuji Bhonsla held aloof though all the Maratha chiefs, great and small, had assembled under the Peshwa's banner at this supreme moment. Sadashiv Rao was outgeneralled from the beginning. He tried to combine two irreconcilable methods of fighting. The experiment proved a failure and the Marathas paid heavily for their mistake. They tried to tempt the wary Afghan leader into a carefully laid snare but

Failure of Sadashiv Rao.

found themselves completely isolated and their supplies totally cut off. Still Sadashiv persisted in his plans until lack of provision compelled him to make a desperate attempt to force his way through the enemy ranks. The Marathas fought with the valour of despair and the Afghan centre wavered under the terrible shock while one of their wings was completely broken. The battle remained long undecided, but Ahmad Shah brought fresh reinforcements at the critical moment and the Maratha army was completely annihilated. There was hardly a noble family in Maharashtra that had not some relatives to mourn. The terrible news reached the Peshwa in a merchant's message. It ran, "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up". He slowly retracted his way to Puna and died of broken heart soon afterwards.

The Battle described.

Death of the Peshwa.

The Results of the third Battle of Panipat.

The third battle of Panipat did not shatter the Maratha power, as is commonly supposed. The next Peshwa quickly repaired the losses and again sent an army to reassert his authority in Hindusthan. Within twenty-five years of this disaster Delhi saw a Maratha Dictator in Mahadaji Sindhia. The expansion of the Maratha empire was certainly checked for a time, but Ahmad Shah derived no profit from the temporary set-back of his adversaries. He could not retain the Punjab long where the Sikhs grew more and more troublesome. But none the less the third battle of Panipat marks a turning point in the history of India. It afforded the British in Bengal the respite they needed for consolidating their authority. Panipat made the British empire in India possible, for it enabled the victors of Plassey to exploit their success to its fullest extent.

The last of the Timurids:—Henceforth the Timurid empire may be regarded to be virtually extinct although a titular emperor continued to occupy the throne of Delhi till the days of the great mutiny. Alamgir II was murdered and his son and successor Shah Alam was a homeless wanderer in the eastern provinces.

Causes of the Downfall of the Empire:—The empire had grown too vast during the reign of Aurangzib and communication between the different centres was by no means easy. When the emperor was engaged against the Afghans of Khyber he had to neglect the Deccan, and when he went to the Deccan the administration of northern India visibly deteriorated. It is to be noted that Muhammad bin Tughluq's empire also went to pieces when it reached its greatest extent, as did the Maratha empire at a later date. It has been rightly said that the empire foundered on the rock of communications. Secondly, the empire rested mainly on the military power of the ruling dynasty. It was not broad-based on the idea of nationality, and much depended upon the personal qualities of the reigning emperor. Akbar and his three immediate successors were all able men. As Dr. V. Smith observes, "Even Jahangir, the weakest of the four, was no fool. The three others were men of unusual ability". No family can produce an uninterrupted line of geniuses, and the house of Timur was no exception in this respect. Aurangzib's immediate successor had long passed the prime of life when he ascended the throne. The laws of nature prevailed in the long run and a succession of weak, indolent and unwise rulers sealed the fate of their family. The long war of Aurangzib in the Deccan had sapped the military resources of the empire, and the series of civil wars that followed his death could not be expected to improve matters.

The Empire was too Big.

Incapacity of the later Timurids.

The invasion of Nadir Shah found the country absolutely unprepared from a military point of view. Thirdly, the Hindu revival greatly weakened the power of Delhi and gathered strength from the rise of the Maratha power under Shivaji, for which Aurangzib cannot be held entirely responsible. But the deposition and imprisonment by him of his father was an innovation full of evil omen for the future ; and his religious policy certainly alienated the Jats, the Rajputs and the Sikhs. Had he proceeded wisely, he might have annihilated the infant Maratha power after Shivaji's death ; but his attitude was consistently uncompromising. His successors were unable to deal with the growing Hindu power, and the Marathas gained the ascendancy the Timurids lost. Lastly, the party factions at Delhi quickly led to the dismemberment of the empire. The party leaders were selfish men and worked for their personal gain alone. Had able men like Zulfiqar Khan, Sayyid Husain Ali and Nizam-ul-Mulk served the state disinterestedly, the empire might have been saved in spite of the weak rulers. But while political strife weakened the central government, the provincial governors became practically independent and the empire quickly succumbed to the inevitable consequences of so many evils.

Hindu Revival.

Party Factions.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE LAND AND THE AGE OF THE 'GREAT MOGULS'

Benevolent Despots :—For two centuries the descendants of Timur held sway over the land of the Hindus. They were, like their predecessors on the throne of Delhi, irresponsible autocrats. Their word was law, their will none could dispute. The only remedy against tyranny and misrule lay in armed rebellion ; but the civilian population had little chance against the disciplined forces of the state. The ministers could not claim to be heard as a matter of right : it was entirely a matter of the emperor's pleasure to seek their counsel or not. Of course, a great deal depended upon the personality of the emperor and his ministers. A Sadullah Khan would invariably be consulted by a wise autocrat like Shahjahan, and a Husain Ali Khan would treat his crowned puppets with scant courtesy and unconcealed contempt. But the first six Timurid rulers of Delhi were men of common sense ; and this common sense offered a reasonable guarantee against senseless tyranny and useless despotism. They were most of them "benevolent despots" and strove hard for the good of their subjects. But unlimited as their authority was in one sense, in another it was strictly limited. It was not always easy to enforce the emperor's orders in the distant corners of his dominions. When we find that emperor after emperor claims to abolish the same set of taxes and cesses in the first year of his reign, we may safely conclude

The Emperor, an Autocrat.

Benevolent Despots.

The Imperial Authority Inoperative in the Distant Parts.

that such abolition had been ineffectual and inoperative on every previous occasion. The state machinery was for all practical purposes the same under Akbar and Jahandar Shah. But we notice one important change in the method of payment. Akbar preferred to pay his officers in money, but the *Jagir* system was gradually revived under his successors. This pernicious policy tended at the same time to augment the power of the *Jagirdars* and to reduce the authority of the central government. The *Jagir* system left the tenant almost entirely at the mercy of his landlord, and it appears that the peasant had an unenviable lot.

Jagir system Revived.

Its Evils.

Art and Architecture:—But the country was, according to all accounts, immensely rich, though wealth was concentrated in a few hands. The rich men loved pomp and splendour, and the Timurid emperors were great builders. The buildings of Babur and Humayun have mostly perished, but there is reason to believe that they brought with them new ideas and conceptions of architecture. In their Central Asian home, the Timurids usually borrowed their architectural ideals from Persia; and the new style which flourished in India under their patronage is called Indo-Persian. One of the earliest specimens of this style is the tomb of Humayun Shah at Delhi. "Its most marked characteristic is its purity—it might almost be called poverty—of design". The "Red Palace" of Akbar in the Agra fort bears unmistakable signs of Hindu influence, according to Fergusson. Akbar built mostly at Fathpur Sikri. "The richest, the most beautiful, as well as the most characteristic of all his buildings here are the three small pavilions, said to have been erected to please and accommodate his three favourite Sultanas". "They are small, but it is impossible to conceive anything so picturesque in outline, or any

A new Style of Architecture.

Humayun's Tomb.

Palace at Agra.

Fathpur Sikri.

building carved or ornamented to such an extent, without the smallest approach to being overdone or in bad taste". The marble mosque of Fathpur Sikri has been described by Fergusson as "a romance in stone". Two other notable buildings of this great monarch are the "Palace of Forty Pillars at Allahabad and his mausoleum at Sikandra". Jahangir contributed but little to the architectural splendour of his capital, but his favourite wife built a beautiful tomb of white marble, "covered throughout with a mosaic in 'pietra dura' " on the grave of her father, Itimad-ud-daulah. Shahjahan's buildings have already been noticed elsewhere. The best period of Indo-Persian architecture comes to an end with him. Fergusson observes that some of the buildings of the Timurid emperors "will bear comparison in some respects with any architectural productions in any part of the world. Their buildings, however, are so original, and so unlike any of the masterpieces of art that we are generally acquainted with, that it is almost impossible to institute any comparison between them which shall be satisfactory".

Palace at Allahabad.

Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra.

Tomb of Itimad-ud-daulah.

Painting :—The Hindus had attained great skill in painting. Some of the works of unknown masters have survived in the caves of Ajanta and Bagh. Under the Timurid princes a composite style, in which Persian and Hindu influences are perceptible, came into existence. Humayun brought with him two Persian painters of great repute, and their art made great progress under the munificent patronage of Akbar. Abu-l-Fazl says: "More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling is very large. This is specially true of the Hindus, their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them". Of the painters of Akbar's time Abdus Samad,

A New Style.

Painters of Akbar's Time.

Mir Sayyid Ali, Farrukh Beg, Daswant, Basawan and Sanwal Das deserve mention here. Jahangir himself was a great connoisseur, and the most famous painters of his time were Abul Hasan, who obtained the title of Nadir-uz-zaman, and Ustad Mansur, entitled Nadir-ul-asar. About the former the emperor says: "At the present time he has no rival or equal. If at this day the masters Abdul Hayy and Bihzad were alive, they would have done him justice". Of the Hindu painters of this reign Bishan Das, the two Kesavas, and the two Madhavas, attained considerable fame. Jahangir took great interest in animal life and when some rare birds were presented to him he ordered "that painters should draw them in the Jahangir-nama". Shahjahan did not possess his father's passion for painting and reduced the number of court painters. The Rajput princes were also great patrons of painting, and the Rajput school has many distinctive features of its own. Of late the "Mughal" and Rajput paintings have again come into their own and received much appreciation both in the country of their origin and in the West.

Jahangir's Court.

Famous Hindu Painters.

The Rajput school.

Royal Authors and Historical Literature :— The imperial family produced several writers of ability and repute. Babur wrote in Turki and Persian. The *memoir* of Jahangir has already been noticed. Even the princesses of this talented family were endowed with literary skill. Gulbadan Begam, daughter of Babur, wrote an account of her brother's reign (*Humayun Nama*) in elegant prose, while Zeb-un-nisa, daughter of Aurangzib, wrote some verses of considerable merit. The literary men and historians of Akbar's time have been mentioned in their proper place. Muhammad Qasim Firishta, a contemporary of Akbar, who lived in the Deccan, has left the most popular general history of India. Another great historian of

Babur.

Jahangir.

Gulbadan Begam.

Zeb-un-nisa.

Firishta.

the days of Aurangzib was Muhammad Hashim, otherwise known as Khafi Khan. His *Muntakhab-ul-Lubub* is regarded as a masterpiece of historical literature. **Khafi Khan.**

It is noteworthy that several Hindu scholars also were inspired by the example of Muslim chroniclers and compiled the annals of their times in chaste Persian. The most notable among them were Rai Bhara Mal, Sujan Rai Khatri, Bhimsen and Ishwardas Nagar. It is not easy to ascertain to what extent Marathi historical prose is indebted to Muslim influence, but some of the best Marathi works on history belong to this period. **Hindu Historians.**

Vernacular Literature :—It was during this age that the vernacular literatures of India reached the height of their glory. Tulsidas, the nightingale of Hindusthan, Surdas, the blind bard of Agra, Kesavdas and Bhushan created the golden epoch of Hindi literature. Besides Kasiram Das, Bengal produced during this period Kavi Kankan Mukundaram Chakravarti, and Ghanaram. Bharatachandra and Ramprasad flourished when the palmy days of the Timurids were already over. In Maharashtra it was the age of Ramdas and Tukaram, the saintly contemporaries of Shivaji, and of Vaman, Mahipati and Mayur Pandit whose admirers are counted by thousands. **Tulsidas.** **Surdas.** **Bhushan.** **Kasiram and other Bengali Poets.** **Marathi Literature.**

Hindu-Muslim Rapprochement :—We have noticed how Hindu annalists readily used Persian in their literary works. Similarly, a number of Muslim writers contributed to the growth of vernacular literature. Bairam Khan's son, Abdur Rahim, the premier noble of Akbar's court, wrote *dohas* in Hindi, and his *Rahim Satsai* is a poetical work of great merit. Muhammad Jyayasi, a contemporary of Sher Shah was another Hindi poet of note. The heroine of his *Padmavat* was Padmini, the famous Rajput princess of Chitor. Ras Khan, another Muslim poet, wrote his **Abdur Rahim.**

Premvatika in the early years of the 17th century. Among the Muslim authors who wrote in Bengali, the most famous was Aloyal, but there were many minor Muslim poets who did their best to enrich their mother tongue. Shaikh Muhammad, a saintly poet, wrote in Marathi. In social customs and manners as well, the Hindus and Muslims were imitating each other. We learn from Sir Thomas Roe that when Jahangir left Ajmer, a big fish and a plate of curd were placed before him according to the Hindu usage. The Timurid emperors had themselves weighed against gold and other precious metals. Herein we find another instance of their inclination for indigenous customs. "Sayyid Abdullah Khan observed the *Basant* or Spring festival, and the *Holi,* powder-throwing". Akbar and Dara made a deliberate attempt to weld the two communities into one society, but their efforts were not quite successful. During the Timurid rule there was a constant flow of foreign Muslims to India. The newcomers from Persia and Central Asia were alien to the land and its customs, and they could not be so tolerant of the Hindu polytheism as the Muslims long settled in the country. But the strength of this foreign element was maintained by fresh immigrants throughout the reigns of Akbar and his three immediate successors and the uncommon orthodoxy of Aurangzib created an unnatural atmosphere of suspicion and distrust.

Shaikh Muhammad.

Common Customs.

The Country and the Court through Foreign Eyes :—Though we know very little about the life and condition of the common people before Akbar, we have occasional glimpses of the court and the country during the period under survey, thanks to the accounts left by a number of observant European travellers, who came to India either in search of fortune or on religious and political missions. One of the earliest English travellers to visit this country was Ralph Fitch, who visited the

Ralph Fitch.

city of Bakla (in the district of Bakarganj) in 1586. We learn from him that the houses of this small town were "very fair and high builded", the streets were large and the country people went about in their loin cloths. Captain William Hawkins, who came to India in the early years of Jahangir, was struck by the great wealth of that emperor. He estimated his revenue at fifty crores a year ; and he (Jahangir) had such a large following whenever he went out on a long journey that Hawkins thought that "the compass of his tents may be as much as the compass of London". Hawkins was a boon companion of Jahangir, but his account of the imperial government is very meagre. We learn much more about the Emperor, his court and administration from Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at the court of Delhi. He writers: "They have no written law. The king by his own word ruleth, and his governors of provinces by that authority. Once a week he sitteth in judgment patiently, and giveth sentence for crimes, capital and civil. He is every man's heir when he dieth ; which maketh him rich, and the country so evil builded. The great men about him are not born noble but favourites raised ; to whom he giveth wonderful means". About the extent of the empire and its resources, Roe says:—"His territory is far greater than the Persians, and almost equal, if not as great as the Turks ; his means of money, by revenue, custom of presents and inheriting all men's goods, above both". The empire "is two thousand miles square at the least, but hath many petty kings within that are tributaries". Roe found Jahangir "very affable, and of a cheerful countenance, without pride. Three times a day he sitteth out in three places: once, to see his elephants and beasts fight, about noon ; after, from four to five or six, to entertain all that visit him ; at night from nine till midnight, with all his great men,

Hawkins.

The Revenue of Jahangir.

Sir Thomas Roe.

The Emperor and his Government.

The Extent and Resources of the Country.

Roe on Jahangir.

but none else, where he is below with them, in all familiarity". The provincial governors were so many despots. According to the English ambassador, "they take life and goods at pleasure". Roe complained to the emperor that he found the English at Ahmadabad "injured by the governor in their persons and goods, fined, exacted upon, and kept as prisoners: that at every town new customs were taken of our goods passing to the port, contrary to all justice and the former articles of trade". Roe arrived in India in 1615 and went home in 1619.

Tyranny of the Provincial Governors.

For an account of the common people and their life we must turn to the *Remonstrantie* or report of Francisco Pelsaert, a Dutch merchant (1626). He testifies to the wealth of the country and the fertility of the soil, but he adds that agriculture suffered from the tyranny of local governors and revenue collectors. Bengal had a prosperous silk and cotton industry and Gujarat had many flourishing centres of trade. The artisans had much employment but little pay and led a miserable life. To quote Pelsaert, "for the workman there are two scourges, the first of which is low wages. . . . . The [second scourge] is [the oppression of] the Governor, the nobles, the Diwan, the Kotwal, the Bakhshi, and other royal officers. If any of these wants a workman, the man is not asked if he is willing to come, but is seized in the house or in the street, well beaten if he should dare to raise any objection, and in the evening paid half his wages or nothing at all. From these facts the nature of their food can be easily inferred. They know little of the taste of meat. For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little *khichri*, made of 'green pulse' mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the mixture has evaporated, and eaten hot with butter in the evening ; in the day time they munch a little parched

Pelsaert.

Prosperity of Bengal.

Life of the Workman.

pulse or other grain, which they say suffices for their lean stomachs. Their houses are built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture there is little or none, except some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking, and two beds". The petty shop-keeper was much better off than the peasants and artisans but he was compelled to sell his goods to the nobles and governors at less than half price, and, as Pelsaert observes, "the unfortunate shop-keeper may be robbed in a single hour of the profits of a whole month". The peons were poorly paid but made up their deficiency in wages by exacting *dasturi* or commission for every purchase they made on their masters' behalf. The nobles on the other hand rolled in wealth "wrung from the sweat of the poor". We learn from Pelsaert that Jahangir did not permit cow-killing. "Oxen and cows are not slaughtered, as they have to work while they are young, doing everything that is done by horses in Holland; and besides, their slaughter is strictly forbidden by the king on pain of death, though buffaloes may be freely killed. The king maintains this rule to please the Hindu rajas and banians, who regard the cow as one of the most veritable gods or sacred things".

The Shop-keeper.

The nobles.

Jahangir prohibited Cow-killing.

Tavernier.

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, a French dealer in precious stones, saw the jewels of Aurangzib. "It should be stated", writes Tavernier, "that the Great Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls". He gives a detailed description of the "peacock throne" and adds that it cost 107,000 lakhs of rupees, but the figure seems to have been exaggerated.

Bernier.

Francois Bernier, a Frenchman by birth and a physician by profession, spent twelve years in India (1656—1668). In a letter to Colbert, the famous French

statesman, Bernier wrote that "gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in *Hindoustan*". "Of the vast tracts of country constituting the empire of *Hindoustan*, many are little more than sand or barren mountains, badly cultivated, and thinly peopled ; and even a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled from want of labourers ; many of whom perish in consequence of the bad treatment they experience from the Governors. These poor people, when incapable of discharging the demands of their rapacious lords, are not only often deprived of the means of subsistence, but are bereft of their children, who are carried away as slaves". "The empire of the *Great Mogul* comprehends several nations, over which he is not absolute master. Most of them still retain their own peculiar chiefs or sovereigns, who obey the *Mogul* or pay him tribute only by compulsion. In many instances this tribute is of trifling amount ; in others none is paid". The emperor kept a huge army, and Bernier opined—"although the *Great Mogul* be in the receipt of an immense revenue, his expenditure being much in the same proportion, he cannot possess the vast surplus of wealth that most people seem to imagine". The French physician informs us that the peasants and artisans were completely at the mercy of *Jagirdars*, and he says "there is no one before whom the injured peasant, artisan or tradesman can pour out his just complaints ; . . . . the *Kadis*, or judges, are not invested with sufficient power to redress the wrongs of these unhappy people". "This sad abuse of the royal authority may not be felt 'in the same degree near capital cities such as *Dehly* and *Agra*, or in the vicinity of large towns and sea-ports, because in those places acts of gross injustice cannot easily be concealed from the court". Bernier concludes his account with the

The Country and its Wealth.

Oppression of the Cultivators.

Semi-independent Chiefs.

Great Expenditure.

Hard Lot of the Peasant.

observation that the poor people feel no incentive to industry and the nobles none to save.

He is, however, very enthusiastic about the riches and the natural attractions of Bengal. "The country produces rice in such abundance that it supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states". "*Bengale* abounds likewise in sugar, with which it supplies the kingdoms of *Golkonda* and the *Karnatic*, ... *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*, ... and even *Persia*". "The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter, form the chief food of the common people, are purchased for the merest trifle, and for a single *roupie* twenty or more good fowls may be bought. Geese and ducks are proportionately cheap. There are also goats and sheep in abundance; and pigs are obtained at so low a price that the *Portuguese*, settled in the country, live almost entirely upon pork". "In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found". "There is in *Bengale* such a quantity of cotton and silks that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of *Hindoustan* or the Empire of the *Great Mogul* only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of *Europe*". The Europeans liked the country so much that, we are told, they had a "proverb in common use among them, that the kingdom of *Bengale* has a hundred gates open for entrance but not one for departure".

Prosperity of Bengal.

Its Produce.

Cheap Price.

Cotton and Silk.

The most voluminous account of India has been left by Nicollao Manucci, an Italian adventurer, who spent nearly the whole of his life in this country. An artillery expert, a speculator, a physician and a diplomat in turn Manucci travelled widely and came into intimate contact with the grandees of his time. He freely wrote in Italian, French and Portuguese; but

Manucci.

although his work was known by name, the actual text has been discovered only recently. He was by no means the only adventurer who came to this land of the "Pagoda Tree". The testimony of foreign observers proves what reputation India then enjoyed for her wealth. The emperor of Delhi, 'the Great Mogul', as he was to these foreigners, was reputed to be the richest monarch in the whole world. His nobles apparently had all that they could desire ; but the peasants and the artisans lived in abject poverty and dragged on a miserable existence, robbed by the mighty and exploited by the strong. They seldom complained: with a pathetic resignation they ascribed all their evils to an adverse fate, believing that they got what they deserved.

BOOK V

TRANSITION TO MODERN INDIA

CHAPTER XXIX

ADVENT OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS

Muslim Neglect of Sea-Power :—The Muslim invaders from Ghazni and Ghur, Samarqand and Kabul had come by the well-known land route across the north-west frontier. The Timurid princes maintained a huge standing army but they did not realise the necessity of building up a strong sea-power. To rule the waves was evidently not their aspiration, and it was across the sea that our present rulers came.

Naval Weakness of the Timurids.

The Portuguese :—The direct sea-route to India was discovered by a Portuguese seaman. From time immemorial India had trade relations with the nations of the West. In course of time this profitable business passed into the hands of the Arab traders. From them Indian goods were purchased by the enterprising merchants of Venice and Genoa. But the people of Western Europe were naturally anxious to divert the course of this commerce to their own advantage. They, therefore, sought a direct route to India, and the Portuguese Government sent a number of expeditions along the African coast. Bartholomeu Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope, or the stormy Cape, as he called it, in or about 1488. In 1498 another Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, pushed further north and east and reached the famous port of Calicut. Portugal was thus brought into direct communication with the land of ease and opulence she had been seeking so long.

Discovery of the Cape Route.

Vasco da Gama.

The discovery could not be kept a secret but the Portuguese were not prepared to share its benefits with other nations. Nor were they satisfied with legitimate trade alone. They claimed the sovereignty of the eastern seas and molested merchantmen of other nationalities. This brought them into conflict with the Arab merchants and the Hindu ruler of Calicut, entitled the Zamorin. The Portuguese on their part readily entered into political intrigues and made alliances with the Zamorin's enemies.

The Zamorin.

The real founder of the Portuguese power in India was Affonso de Albuquerque. First sent to India in 1503 in command of a squadron, he had a good record of naval achievements to his credit when he took charge of Portuguese affairs in India as governor (1509). In 1510 he captured Goa, then a rich centre of trade and an important port belonging to Bijapur. Albuquerque persecuted the Muslims most bitterly and encouraged the Portuguese to marry Indian wives and settle in the country. When he died in 1515, the Portuguese were the foremost naval power in India and their fleet completely dominated the west coast.

Albuquerque.

Gradually they founded a number of convenient settlements near the sea. They still retain Goa, Daman and Diu. In former times they also held Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay, San Thome near Madras and Hughli in Bengal, while their authority was established over the major part of Ceylon. But their misdeeds in the sea and the persecution of non-Christians in their settlements alike roused the hostility of the country powers. We have seen how Kasim Khan had captured Hughli during the reign of Shahjahan. In 1739 they lost Salsette and Bassein to the Marathas. Meanwhile they suffered severely from the rivalry of other European nations who had come in their wake.

Portuguese Settlements.

Loss of Hughli and Salsette.

Other Nations :—As the Portuguese were jealous of the good fortune of Venice and Genoa, so the prosperity of Portugal in its turn excited the envy of other maritime nations. They did not acknowledge the extravagant claims of Portugal, based as they were on priority of occupation and a Papal Bull, nor were they prepared to submit tamely to the Portuguese policy of exclusion. In 1600 the English East India Company obtained a royal charter granting them "the monopoly of commerce in eastern water". The Dutch formed their United East India Company in 1602. The Danes followed suit fourteen years later (1616). The French India Company sponsored by the great statesman Colbert and organised under royal patronage in 1664 was destined to play an important part in Indian history. The Ostend Company, floated by the merchants of Flanders and formally chartered in 1722, may be left out of account. Finally, in 1731 a Swedish East India Company came into existence ; but it traded almost exclusively with China.

The English East India Company.

The French India Company.

The appearance of so many competitors in the field naturally led to a bitter contest. The merchant companies did not confine their activities to trade and commerce. They soon formed ambitious schemes of territorial acquisition and exerted their utmost to oust one another. Every company claimed the monopoly of eastern trade on the strength of the charter obtained from its own government and would not permit even its own nationals to participate in the profitable ventures. The anxiety of the companies to avoid great competition may be easily understood when we remember that in 1622 goods bought in India for £356,288 had produced £1,914,600 in England ; or in other words the capital invested by the English East India Company had yielded a profit of more than 400 per cent. The business methods of the western nations were, however,

Rivalry of the European Trading Companies.

Their Business Method, not Entirely Peaceful.

far from peaceful. In 1612 Middleton had compelled Indian trading vessels by force to exchange their goods for the commodities he had brought and exacted from Surat ships a heavy contribution. This was possible because the Timurid rulers of India were unable to police the sea, even in the palmy days of their power.

The Weaker Nations Eliminated.

The Danes never enjoyed much influence in the east. The Ostend Company had but a brief career in India. The Portuguese power was visibly on the wane. The chief competitors for the eastern and Indian market were, therefore, the Dutch, the English and the French. In Europe, the English sometimes joined the Dutch against the French; and once France and England combined against Holland; but in the east their policy remained constant. At one time it seemed that the Dutch would gain the ascendancy they coveted. But later they confined their operations mainly to Ceylon in the south and the islands of the Indian Archipelago in the east, so that the English and the French were left to contend for power and influence in India.

The Dutch.

The French and the English.

The English East India Company:—The chief seat of the English East India Company in western India was at Surat. But a subordinate station was destined to attain greater importance in future. Charles II of England married the Portuguese king's sister, Catherine of Braganza, and obtained the island of Bombay as her dowry. Bombay was then regarded as an unhealthy place of little value but it was not delivered to the king's representatives till about 1665. Three years later the island was transferred to the East India Company for the paltry rent of £10 (Rs. 80, according to the exchange of those days) per year. In 1639 Francis Day obtained the lease of Madras from a local chief, which became the English headquarters on the Coromandel coast in 1640. Fort St. George was

Bombay.

Madras.

built in 1639 for the defence of the new station. The English factories in Bengal were originally subordinate to Madras. In 1690, Job Charnock founded Calcutta, near a marshy swamp on the Hughli. Thus step by step the English Company came to be the proprietors of a few settlements in India of which Bombay alone was held in full sovereignty. But the prosperity of the Company caused great excitement in England and a number of "Interlopers" or unauthorised private merchants appeared in Indian waters. In 1698 a rival company obtained the royal assent and then followed a period of suicidal contest. But in 1702 the two companies were amalgamated under the style of "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies", and internecine strife was healed once for all.

Calcutta.

A New English Company.

The United Company.

French Settlements in India :—The French also began their commercial career in India with a factory at Surat (1668) and at Masulipatam (1669). In 1673 François Martin and Bellanger de Lespinay obtained a little village from the Muslim governor of Valikondapuram. Here sprang up the fortified town of Pondicherry (1674) which attained great prosperity under the fostering care of the early governors, Martin, Lenoir and Dumas. In 1674 the Nawab of Bengal granted the French the site of the present town of Chandernagore (Chandannagar) where they later built a factory (1690—92). The French occupied Mauritius in 1721; and Mahé on the Malabar coast and Karikal on the coast of Coromandel were acquired in 1725 and 1739 respectively, but the factories at Surat and Masulipatam had in the meantime been abandoned. Of the two rivals, the English company had the advantage of greater wealth and trade. The French company suffered a good deal from royal interference from which the English East India Company, as a private corporation,

Pondicherry.

Chandernagore.

Mahé and Karikal.

Comparative Strength of the two Rivals.

was free. But in Dupleix, who became governor of Pondicherry in 1742, the French had a leader of uncommon ability and unbounded ambition.

Dupleix :—Dupleix aspired to found a French empire in India. The weakness of the Indian princes was no longer a secret. Even in the days of Aurangzib Bernier had noticed the inefficiency of Indian armies. The empire had gone to pieces when Dupleix took charge of the government of Pondicherry, and he was convinced that a small force of Indian sepoys trained, disciplined and officered by European experts would suffice for his purpose. Before he could put his theory to the test, war broke out in Europe between the English and the French and hostilities naturally spread to India.



Dupleix

The First Anglo-French War :—The war had long been expected and Mahé de la Bourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, had already planned an effective attack against the English settlements in India as early as 1741. But hostilities were delayed and the recall of the French fleet by the home government deprived La Bourdonnais of the means of giving effect to his ambitious scheme. In 1745 Pondicherry itself was threatened by an English fleet, but the Nawab of the "Carnatic" (the province round Arcot) prohibited all fighting within his jurisdiction, and he was perfectly within his rights. But in 1746 La Bourdonnais captured Madras, and clearly exceeded his authority

La Bourdonnais.

Capture of Madras.

when he engaged to restore the town on the payment of a heavy ransom (£400,000). Dupleix refused to ratify these terms and retained Madras till peace was concluded. Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, who had been labouring under the delusion that the Frenchman would deliver the city to him sent a strong force against Madras as soon as he was undeceived. But the huge army of 10,000 men was completely routed by the small force of 500 which the French could bring to the field. Dupleix had the satisfaction of finding his theory completely vindicated, but his enterprise against Fort St. David proved a failure as did the English naval expedition against Pondicherry. In 1748 the war in Europe came to an end and by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Madras was restored to its former owners. But the treaty did not restore good feeling between the rival nations; and they soon discovered a novel means of waging war as partisans of Indian princes without engaging as principals.

Dupleix and Anwar-ud-din.

Battle of Mailapur or San Thome.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

War of the Deccan and Carnatic Succession :— We have seen how Nizam-ul-Mulk had become for all practical purposes the independent sovereign of the Deccan though he still pretended to be the viceroy of the effete emperor of Delhi. The Carnatic was theoretically under the viceroy but the Nawabship had become hereditary in the family of Sadatullah. In 1744 the astute Nizam took advantage of family dissensions and appointed Anwar-ud-din, a creature of his, guardian of the boy Nawab. The boy was murdered shortly afterwards and Anwar-ud-din was appointed Nawab, but the claims of the old family were inherited by Chanda Sahib, then a prisoner at Satara. Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748 and the succession was contested by his second son Nasir Jang and a favourite grandson, Muzaffar Jang. Dupleix at once perceived the great advantage that his nation might derive from participating in this civil war.

The Nawabship of the Carnatic.

Dupleix supports Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib.

He espoused the cause of Muzaffar Jang and set up Chanda Sahib as a rival to Anwar-ud-din. In justice to Dupleix it should be pointed out that the English had previously lent their support to an expelled Raja of Tanjore and thus created a precedent which the Frenchman now followed. He might reasonably fear that his rivals would not lose this splendid opportunity of improving their fortunes if he preferred to stand aloof. On the other hand, with a French nominee in the viceroy's office and another in the Nawabship of the Carnatic, his power and influence in the Deccan would be supreme. He might also expect valuable territorial and political concessions for France. At first, things went favourably for Dupleix and his friends.

Defeat and Death of Anwar-ud-din.

Anwar-ud-din was defeated and killed (1749), but his son Muhammad Ali made good his escape and reached Trichinopoly. Then the allied cause met with a temporary setback. Nasir Jang and Muhammad Ali sought and obtained English support. The former defeated and captured his nephew; but Nasir Jang was soon afterwards slain and Muzaffar was released and restored to his grandfather's office (Dec. 1750).

Triumph of the French Party.

He was killed in a skirmish with some rebels, but this meant no loss to the French. Bussy secured the succession for Salabat Jang, a son of the late Nizam, and for many years to come enjoyed great influence at the court of Haidarabad. Nor had Dupleix been disappointed in other respects. He had been appointed by Muzaffar Jang the governor of an extensive territory, and the rich port of Masulipatam with its dependencies was ceded to the French.

Siege of Trichinopoly.

Muhammad Ali was closely besieged at Trichinopoly by the superior force of Chanda Sahib and French success appeared to be almost complete. At this crisis a young man of untested ability appeared on the scene and saved the cause of the English and their friends from impending ruin.

Robert Clive:—Robert Clive was born at Market Drayton in 1725. As a boy he was wild and wayward, and in 1742 he was appointed a junior clerk in the service of the company to be posted at Madras. Clive took the first opportunity of relinquishing the pen for the sword and served as a volunteer when La Bourdonnais captured Madras. He proved his mettle in the defence of Fort St. David and took part in the Tanjore expedition. Clive rightly pointed out that direct relief of Trichinopoly was not likely to prove practicable and he suggested the daring alternative of seizing Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital, and thus creating a diversion in favour of the besieged. He himself undertook to lead the expedition to Arcot and with a small force of five hundred men, Indian and English, carried the place. Every thing went as he had expected. Chanda Sahib immediately sent a large army under his son Raja Sahib to recover Arcot. But Clive defended the place against enormous odds (1751), and when the final assault was repulsed he proceeded to relieve Trichinopoly. This turned the tide in favour of the English, and the decisive defeat of Chanda Sahib and his French confederates secured the Carnatic for Muhammad Ali. Thus the earlier French success was counterpoised; and if a French nominee ruled at Haidarabad, an English puppet was placed at Arcot (1752).

Early Career.



Robert Clive

Clive Captures Arcot.

Defence of Arcot.

Fall of Chanda Sahib.

Recall of Dupleix

Dupleix carried on the struggle with unfailing resolution ; but he was superseded by the authorities at Paris and a truce was concluded with the English (1754). Thus the second round in the Anglo-French contest ended in a draw.

The Second Anglo-French War :—The last round opened with the Seven Years' War (1756).

Bussy at Haidarabad.

Bussy had in the meantime strengthened the French position at Haidarabad and obtained an assignment of the rich province of the Northern Sarkars. But Lally,

Lally and his Difficulties.

the new French commander, had to labour under insuperable difficulties. The superior resources of the English had been further augmented by Clive's success in Bengal (1757) ; and, as soon as the news of the war in Europe reached India, he seized the French settlement of Chandernagore. The English fleet commanded the sea throughout the war, while Lally obtained little support from the French squadron. From the civil authorities of Pondicherry he received vexatious opposition, and he could expect neither men nor money from home. He began his operations with a successful attack on Fort St. David (1758). Then the need of money

Military Operations of Lally.

compelled him to turn his arms against Tanjore. The place would have been reduced but for the timely arrival of the English fleet ; and Lally had to summon Bussy from Haidarabad. Bussy had no alternative but to obey and with him vanished the French ascendancy from the Nizam's court. In December 1758 Lally laid siege to Madras, but the garrison was strong in number and had an efficient leader in Colonel Stringer Lawrence. The French general at last decided to storm the fort but he was again foiled by the sudden arrival of the British squadron (1759). Meanwhile the French had lost the Northern Sarkars. Clive sent a detachment from Bengal under Colonel Forde in 1758 with the definite object of expelling the French from

these wealthy districts and occupying Masulipatam. In 1759 Forde captured Masulipatam and the Nizam formally transferred to the English the very districts he had previously granted to his French friends. Repeated failures demoralised the French army and lack of provisions and funds prevented Lally from carrying on the campaign in the Carnatic with any chance of success. At last he was completely worsted by Coote at Wandewash (1760) and the French lost town after town. In 1761 Pondicherry capitulated to the English after a siege of nearly nine months and Lally became a prisoner of war. Pondicherry was completely destroyed, and "not a roof was left standing in this once fair and flourishing city". In 1763 the war came to a close and the treaty of Paris was concluded. The Indian possessions of the French were restored to them but the French power in this country was shattered beyond recovery. From time to time they did indeed dream of reviving their lost glory by concluding fresh alliances with Indian princes, but they never again became a serious menace to British ascendancy in India.

The English in the Northern Sarkars.

Battle of Wandewash.

Treaty of Paris.

The Causes of the French Failure:—For the downfall of the French power in India neither Dupleix nor Lally can be entirely held responsible. There was nothing essentially wrong or impracticable in Dupleix's scheme, and as a military leader, Lally was not devoid of ability or resolution. He had to fight against enormous odds ; and the very fact that he continued the struggle so long testifies to his warlike qualities. But between the seat of war and the belligerent countries lay the vast expanse of two mighty oceans, and success depended largely upon ascendancy in the sea. The French fleet proved decisively inferior to the British navy, and Lally's defeat was mainly due to British command of the sea. It was no less due to his want

Inefficiency of the French Fleet.

Financial Difficulties. of money. He came with a scanty supply and never obtained sufficient funds, while his adversaries got all the money they needed from Bengal. Wandewash was the inevitable corollary of Plassey, and it was from Bengal that the English extended their authority over the rest of India.

CHAPTER XXX

THE BRITISH CONQUEST OF BENGAL AND THE RISE OF HAIDAR ALI

Murshid Quli Khan and His Successors :— Like some other nobles of Aurangzib's court, Murshid Quli Khan succeeded in founding a virtually independent dynasty in Bengal. Formerly *Diwan,* Murshid Quli was promoted to the *defacto* governorship of Bengal by Aurangzib in 1703-4. It was he who transferred the capital from Dacca to the present town of Murshidabad which bears his name. Strong by the favour of his master, he ruled the province almost as an independent king with little or no interference from the central government. When he died in 1727 his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-din, assumed the government on the strength of an imperial *farman.* The fiction of the imperial suzerainty was thus maintained, but in practice the Nawab had nothing to apprehend from the Emperor of Delhi. He was an able and considerate ruler and was in his turn succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan. His reign lasted for a few months only and he was defeated and slain by Allahvardi Khan, governor of Bihar, in 1740. To justify his usurpation, Allahvardi secured the imperial patent and further took the precaution of sending some presents to Muhammad Shah. Able and energetic as he was, he had to exert his utmost to defend his kingdom from the depredations of his Maratha neighbours. After several years of strenuous fighting he was compelled to purchase peace by the virtual cession of part of Orissa and an undertaking to pay 12 lakhs of rupees per year as *Chauth.* Allahvardi died in 1756 and was succeeded by his daughter's son, Mirza Muhammad, better known as Siraj-ud-daula, and soon

Shuja-ud-din.

Sarfaraz Khan.

Allahvardi Khan.

Maratha Invasion.

Siraj-ud-daula.

afterwards the British established their authority in Bengal.

Siraj-ud-daula and the English :—The English, the French and the Dutch had all their factories in Bengal in close proximity to one another. But the English held the position of vantage as their settlement at Calcutta commanded the entrance of the river on which stood Chinsura, and Chandernagore, the principal places of their rivals. Allahvardi had wisely forbidden the European nations to fortify their settlements, and during his reign they were compelled to respect his sovereign authority and to keep peace within his province although their countrymen were engaged in a war in the Carnatic. Siraj-ud-daula has been painted in the darkest colours. It has been the fashion to suggest that he was a monster of iniquity, and it is usually ignored that a war with the English was inevitable in any case. The English were smarting under the restrictions imposed upon them by the old Nawab ; and it is quite possible that had he lived a few years longer the conflict would have commenced in Allahvardi's reign. The youth and inexperience of the new ruler probably precipitated the contest ; but it should be noted that his ill-feeling towards the English was not altogether unprovoked. In the first place, they had given shelter to a man whom the Nawab regarded as a refugee from justice. Secondly, when the English and the French began to fortify their respective settlements in anticipation of the impending war, Siraj-ud-daula ordered them to desist ; the French readily obeyed but the English did not. And, lastly as Mr. Roberts points out, the English "had undoubtedly given Siraj-ud-daula some ground for complaint by abusing the trade privileges granted them by the *farman* of 1717". The attitude of Drake, the English governor, had been far from respectful, and in

The Nawab's Grievances against the English.



Siraj-ud-daula

June 1756 the Nawab led his army against Calcutta. Drake was not prepared for prompt action and deserted his station with the commander of the garrison. After a feeble defence Calcutta surrendered and it is said that 146 prisoners including a woman were thoughtlessly pushed into a narrow cell about eighteen feet square where the majority died of suffocation. The truth of this story has recently been challenged, and the account, as it has come down to us, is not without some difficulties. But all impartial writers are agreed that the Nawab was not personally responsible for this terrible tragedy.

The Black Hole Tragedy.

The Battle of Plassey (1757) :—Meanwhile Drake and his companions lay at Falta and when the news of the disaster reached Madras, a fairly strong force was sent to Bengal under Clive with the fleet under Admiral Watson to repair the late misfortune. Clive and Watson easily recaptured Calcutta (1757) and after an indecisive action Siraj-ud-daula concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the English. "The company's fort and all their former privileges and rights were restored to them, compensation was to be paid for losses, and permission was given to coin money and fortify Calcutta". The English got all they wanted but the peace lasted only five months. We have seen how Clive had seized Chandernagore when the news of the Seven Years' War reached India. The violation of his neutrality must have made the Nawab restive and he was suspected of secret correspondence with the French. Some of his courtiers entered into a conspiracy with Clive with a view to replacing him by Mir Jafar, Allahvardi's brother-in-law. During the negotiation Clive was guilty of a dishonourable transaction. In order to deceive a trader named Omichand, who was in the know, he ordered the name of Watson to be forged on a sham treaty. When his plans

Clive and Watson sent to Bengal.

Peace Concluded.

were matured, he accused the Nawab of a breach of the treaty and openly declared war. The Nawab marched towards Calcutta and the two forces met at Plassey (Palasi) about twenty-three miles from Murshidabad. The Nawab fled without serious fighting, and Mir Jafar was hailed by Clive as the ruler of Bengal. A few days later, the fugitive prince was captured and put to death by Mir Jafar's son Miran. Clive and his colleagues were sorely disappointed in the all-important respect. They found that the treasury did not contain even one-twentieth of the expected cash. But lack of funds meant no loss to the conspirators. They were paid in full the price of their support. Clive got no less than £234,000 in cash, besides a *Jagir* yielding an income of £30,000 a year. Moreover, it made him, in a sense, the master of his employers. The members of the select committee also got their full share, but the new Nawab was unable to meet all his obligations, and it was settled that the Company's dues would be paid by instalments. The morality of these transactions has often been questioned, and Clive and his apologists argued that the Company's servants were not precluded from accepting any present and that what Clive obtained was really a free gift from an independent ruler. In reality it was the price of a province, and Mir Jafar was hardly a free agent when the terms were settled. Clive had set a pernicious example which others of less ability were not loth to imitate.

Battle of Plassey.

Clive's Personal Gains.

The Puppet Nawab :—Mir Jafar was Nawab in name, and Clive was the real ruler of Bengal. The Company obtained from their *protégé* the Zemindari of the 24-Perganas. The new Nawab could hardly defend his territories and when the Shahzada or the heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi invaded the province of Bihar, Clive had to march against him (1759).

The Shahzada.

Conflict with the Dutch :—But worthless as he was, Mir Jafar could not completely reconcile himself to his humiliating position. The derision of his people was unconcealed, and he probably entered into a conspiracy with the Dutch of Chinsura to get rid of his overbearing allies. The Dutch were jealous of the predominant position the English had come to occupy in Bengal and readily accepted the Nawab's suggestion. But their ships were detained and they were defeated both by land and water. The authority of the English was firmly established in Bengal when Clive left for home in 1760.

Anglo-Dutch Conflict in Bengal.

The Nawabship on Sale :—Clive was succeeded by Vansittart as Governor of Calcutta. Mir Jafar had been so impoverished by the rapacity of his English supporters that he soon found himself unable to meet the demands of the Company. The Company expected Bengal to finance Bombay and Madras as well, and their servants at Calcutta soon discovered an easy and profitable solution of this apparently difficult problem. The Nawabship was sold to Mir Jafar's son-in-law, Mir Qasim, who ceded the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to the Company; and the governor and his councillors obtained a gratuity of £200,000 from the new Nawab. Mir Jafar was unceremoniously dethroned by the very men who "were bound to support (him) by the most solemn ties, divine and human". As a man, Mir Qasim was far superior to his worthless father-in-law, and, given the opportunity, he might have proved a good ruler. Naturally he did not like the interference of the English and removed his capital to Monghyr at a safe distance from Calcutta. There he set to improve his army as well as his administration, but an act of the most elementary justice caused a rupture with the English. The

Vansittart.

Mir Qasim.

The New Nawab and the English.

Company's goods passed duty-free in the country. The servants of the Company were engaged in inland trade and claimed the same privilege. The concession was most shamelessly abused, and permits of the Company were granted even to their native agents and favourites. This placed the Indian traders at a great disadvantage. When his protests proved unavailing, Mir Qasim abolished all duties and placed the children of the soil on the same level with the English traders. This the latter would not tolerate ; and one of the most arrogant and unreasonable of them, Ellis, the head of the English Factory at Patna, seized that town. This overt act precipitated war. The Nawab was no match for the English in an armed contest and his army was twice defeated. Infuriated by failure and the prospect of ruin, Mir Qasim tarnished his reputation by a cold-blooded massacre of his helpless prisoners (1763). After a third defeat he fled to Oudh where he succeeded in enlisting the support of Shuja-ud-daula, the ruler of that province. But the army of Oudh was defeated after a sharply contested battle at Buxar (Baksar) by Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro (1764). When war broke out with Mir Qasim, the Calcutta Council restored their inoffensive puppet, Mir Jafar, to his former office. But he had to indemnify the English for the losses they had lately sustained and to grant all the commercial privileges they had been demanding. The death of Mir Jafar in 1765 afforded the councillors another opportunity of enriching themselves. The new Nawab, a son of Mir Jafar, had to present to the Governor and his colleagues no less than £139,357 and to confirm their trading rights, though the Directors had expressly disapproved of both. Corruption was rife in Bengal and discipline was entirely gone. At last the Directors sent Clive, who had in the mean time been raised to the peerage, to

Abuse of Trade Privileges.

Patna seized.

Battle of Buxar.

Death of Mir Jafar.

Lord Clive Sent to Bengal.

cleanse the Augean stable which was partly of his creation.

Treaty with the Nawab of Oudh :—Clive began his work with characteristic vigour and promptitude. The Nawab of Oudh had been thoroughly worsted, but the war had not been formally ended. Peace was now made, and Shuja-ud-daula had to pay an indemnity of 50 lakhs and cede the two districts of Allahabad and Kora. These two districts were transferred to the emperor Shah Alam II for his subsistence, besides an annuity of twenty-six lakhs of rupees. In return for these favours, the titular emperor conferred on the English East India Company the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa including the district of Midnapur and part of Hughli in perpetuity, though Orissa Proper was then in the possession of the Maratha Raja of Nagpur. Clive deemed it politic to secure a formal grant of the Northern Sarkars as well, though the districts had in reality been conquered by English arms. The young Nawab of Bengal was divested of his administrative responsibilities and granted a fixed pension (1765).

Treaty of Allahabad.

Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Double Government :—The system of government under which the 'name and shadow of authority' remained with the Nawab while real power passed into the hands of the English Company is known as the Double Government. The administration of the country was carried on by two Deputy Nawabs, one for Bengal and the other for Bihar. But they were appointed with the approval of the Company. So the two different functions of the administration, executive government and criminal justice (*Nizamat*), and revenue collection and civil justice (*Diwani*) came under the control of the Company. The gravest defect of this system was that it transferred the supreme power to the Company's officers without any responsibility.

Its Defects.

Other Reforms :—Clive had been specially commissioned to put a stop to the corrupt practices then prevailing among the Company's servants and to abolish private trade. He was armed with extraordinary powers to facilitate this object. The Company's officers were ordered to refrain from commercial ventures and had to sign covenants against receipt of presents. But the salary they obtained was hopelessly inadequate, and Clive organised a Society of Trade of which the senior officers, civil and military, were to be shareholders. This scheme was in direct contravention of the specific instructions of his masters, and the Directors very rightly refused their sanction. In the army Clive abolished the system of paying *Double Batta* or extra-allowance even in time of peace which had come in vogue after the battle of Plassey. Necessary as it was, this reform might have caused a serious mutiny in the army ; but the firm handling of Clive saved the situation and nothing untoward happened. After two years of arduous work Clive left for home in 1767. There some of his earlier deeds were severely criticised, but Parliament exonerated him, and unanimously resolved that Robert Lord Clive "rendered great and meritorious services to his country". That was in 1773. Next year he committed suicide in his fiftieth year.

Private Trade and Presents Forbidden.

Double Batta Abolished.

Achievements of Clive :—Robert Clive was the real founder of the British power in India. He was not a great military genius, as is commonly supposed. Sir Charles Wilson says :—"To seek the enemy and, on finding him, to attack with headlong valour seems to have been his guiding principle, and his successes were due rather to his personal intrepidity, and to his power of inspiring large masses of men with confidence, than to studied plans or dexterous manœuvres". A man of strong resolution and masterful spirit, Robert

Not a Great Military Genius.

A man of Dash and Daring. Clive never quailed before difficulties nor avoided dangers. It was his dash and daring that saved the Carnatic for the English and won for them the wealthy province of Bengal. It was to him that the credit of annexing the Northern Sarkars really belongs. His contemporaries did not always do him justice, but English historians of a later generation rushed to the other extreme and gave their approval to everything he did. He was greedy and unscrupulous, but he served his country well. Even the low moral standard of his age offers a poor excuse for forgery of which he was once guilty, and by receiving the so-called presents from the Nawab he had set an evil example that bore disastrous results in Bengal. But, with all his faults, he was in many respects a great man and his countrymen now remember his work in India with gratitude and admiration while his weaknesses are generally ignored.

His Lapses.

From Clive to Warren Hastings :—Clive's successors in the government of Bengal, Verelst (1767—69) and Cartier (1770—1772), were both men of mediocre ability. A genius may make even a bad system work, but under average men it is bound to break down. The evils of the Dual Government now became manifest to one and all. In 1770 Bengal was visited by one of the worst famines known to history. One-third of the entire population died of starvation and disease ; and cultivation decreased as a matter of course. But no attempt was made to relieve the sufferings of the famished peasants ; taxes were collected with criminal callousness, and Warren Hastings observed that "the nett collections of the year 1771 'exceeded even those of 1768".

Verelst and Cartier.

A Terrible Famine.

First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69) :—Nor were the English affairs in the Carnatic better managed. A new power had been founded in Mysore by Haidar Ali, a

Early Career.

Muhammadan adventurer. A man of humble parentage, ignorant and illiterate, Haidar had a large share of native wit and shrewd common sense. He entered the service of the *Dalwai* or prime minister, who ruled Mysore in the name of the titular king, as a horseman, but quickly rose to be a commander of note. He supplanted his former patron before long and extended his territories by subjugating the petty *poligars*. On the north his power received a serious check from the Marathas who invaded his principality and exacted an indemnity from him. He had some grievances against Muhammad Ali of the Carnatic and made an alliance with the Nizam against the English protectors of the Nawab. The war commenced in 1767, but Haidar was soon left by his fickle friend to fight alone. In 1769 he suddenly appeared within five miles of Madras and dictated a peace. An exchange of prisoners and mutual restoration of conquests were stipulated. The English undertook to help Haidar in case he was attacked by any other power. From his point of view this was by far the most important term as he needed support against his Maratha enemies. But when the Marathas next invaded his territories, the English kept neutral and Haidar never forgave them for what he regarded as a faithless betrayal of an ally in distress.


Haidar Ali

Dictates a [illegible] of Madras.

Haidar's Disappointment.

Such in short was the state of affairs when Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal.

CHAPTER XXXI

WARREN HASTINGS (1772-85)

Early Reforms of Hastings :—Warren Hastings was not new to Bengal. He had entered the Company's service at the age of eighteen, and he subsequently became known as a man of "great ability and unblemished character". His first task as Governor was to reorganise the administration and improve the finances. Clive's system of Double Government had proved a failure, and the two Deputy



Warren Hastings

Deputy Nawabs Dismissed.

Reza Khan (Bengal) and Raja Shitab Rai (Bihar), were dismissed. A Revenue Board was set up at Calcutta whither the treasury was transferred from Murshidabad. British officers (collectors) were employed for revenue administration, and the Company at last undertook in right earnest the duties and responsibilities of the *Diwani*. A five-years' settlement was made with revenue farmers and Zemindars, and two courts, the Sadar Diwani Adalat and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat, were established in Calcutta for the administration of civil and criminal justice. An easy and obvious economy was effected

Revenue Reforms.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

by reducing the allowances of the titular Nawab, whose office had become a complete sinecure. An imprudent move on the part of the titular emperor gave Hastings the welcome opportunity of making further considerable savings.

Economies Effected.

The Nawab of Oudh and the Emperor Shah Alam II :—The titular emperor was a homeless wanderer when he obtained from Clive the districts of Allahabad and Kora and an annual tribute of twenty-six lakhs of rupees. This was not an act of pure charity or benevolence. While the emperor received the revenue he needed so much, he lent the English the prestige of his name and title which had its use in those days. But Shah Alam was anxious to return to the capital of his ancestors. The Marathas had quickly recovered from the effects of Panipat, and a strong Maratha force appeared in Hindusthan Proper to re-establish their lost ascendancy. The emperor returned to Delhi under the protection of a Maratha chief Mahadaji Sindhia, and Hastings argued that as a Maratha *protégé* Shah Alam could no longer expect the Company to pay for his subsistence. The annual tribute was, therefore, stopped, and in 1773 the two districts were made over to their former owner, the Nawab of Oudh, in return for fifty lakhs of rupees. The Nawab further promised to pay a subsidy for a British auxiliary force to be employed in his service whenever it might be necessary.

Revival of Maratha Power.

Mahadaji Sindhia.

Treaty of Benares.

The Rohilla War (1773-74) :—The financial difficulties of his government next led Hastings to an undertaking of very doubtful expediency. There was no love lost between the Nawab of Oudh and his Afghan neighbours of Rohilkhand, and he was anxious to annex that prosperous province. The Rohillas had been technically guilty of a breach of treaty which at a moment of imminent danger they had signed in the

Causes of the War.

presence of a British officer. The Nawab offered a large sum for British assistance in the conquest of Rohilkhand, and Hastings accepted the offer after long hesitation. Oudh served as a buffer state between Bengal and the powerful Maratha empire, and the annexation of Rohilkhand was expected to strengthen a friendly neighbour. On the other hand, the Rohillas had given the British no offence whatever. It is needless to examine their title to the province ; it was as good or as bad as that of the Nawab, but as rulers they were incomparably superior to the English *protégé* of Oudh, and the Hindu peasant was much better off under the Rohilla rulers. In any case, the business smacks of a mercenary spirit, and it certainly created an undesirable precedent.

The policy examined.

The Regulating Act, 1773 :—The East India Company had become a great territorial power in India, although in theory they had no possessions of their own. Their growing dominion could not but attract the notice of the British Parliament, and it was widely felt that a private body of merchants should not be left in uncontrolled authority over a growing empire. Accordingly, the Regulating Act of Lord North was passed in 1773. It laid down that all despatches should be submitted to the king's ministers for their information. The Governor of Bengal became Governor-General. The Governor-General in Council was vested with some control over all British settlements in India. The Council was to consist of four members besides the Governor-General, who was given the casting vote in case of a tie. The first Governor-General and councillors were named in the Act and appointed for a term of five years. Of the councillors, Richard Barwell alone had any Indian experience, the remaining three, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis, were entirely new to the country. At the same time a

Its Provisions.

The New Councillors.

Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a Chief Justice and three puisne Judges, was established at Calcutta. The first Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, was a former schoolfellow of Hastings. The greatest defect of the Regulating Act was that it did not clearly define the relations between the Governor-General in Council on the one hand and the subordinate governments of Bombay and Madras on the other. The relations between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Government also remained extremely ill defined, while the Governor-General could not override the decision of the majority in his council.

The Supreme Court.

The Defects of the New Act.

Hastings and the Councillors :—This was particularly unfortunate for Hastings. The new councillors, from the beginning, assumed a censorious attitude and began a systematic campaign against their chief. The only councillor on whose support the Governor-General could count was Barwell, and he found himself in a permanent minority until the death of Monson (1776) enabled Hastings to carry his points with his casting vote.

Hostility of the New Councillors.

Nanda Kumar :—Francis was the leading spirit of the opposition. He came to India with the notion that the government was corrupt from top to bottom and openly attacked the policy and measures of Hastings. Francis and his friends, by their unconcealed hostility, indirectly invited accusations against the Governor-General; the latter's enemies brought charges of bribery and defalcation. The most important of the complainants was Nanda Kumar, a Brahmana of high rank and position. Hastings brought a counter charge against this Brahmana enemy but refused to confront him in the Council. Before either of the cases could be decided, Nanda Kumar was accused of forgery by one Mohan Prasad. He was tried by the Supreme Court and a jury, found guilty and hanged (1775). The evidence

Sir Philip Francis.

Charge and Counter-charge.

against Nanda Kumar was not very convincing, and the law by which he was condemned was probably not in operation in Bengal at the time of the alleged offence. There was clearly a miscarriage of justice. It was openly suggested at the time that Mohan Prasad was a creature of the Governor-General and that the execution of Nanda Kumar was a judicial murder. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that Impey was not always on friendly terms with Hastings, and there is no evidence that Hastings did anything to influence the judge against the unfortunate accused. It should also be noted that Impey was not the only judge who tried the case: there were his colleagues and the jury, against whom his critics have little or nothing to say. The case of Nanda Kumar, however, was a mere episode in the history of India and had no political significance of any importance.

Hastings not Responsible for Nanda Kumar's Execution.

The Government and the Supreme Court :— A glaring omission in the Regulating Act brought the Supreme Court into conflict with the Government. The court claimed extravagant jurisdiction over many kinds of people and went to the length of finding the Governor-General and Council guilty of contempt of court. At last Hastings brought this disgraceful episode to an end by appointing the Chief Justice to the presidency of the Sadar Diwani Adalat on a salary of £6,500. The Chief Justice undertook to refund the money in case the appointment was not sanctioned by the Directors.

Conflict and its Remedy.

The First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82) :—In 1775 the Governor and Council of Bombay engaged in a war with the Maratha empire.

The third battle of Panipat did not prove fatal to the Maratha power which quickly recovered under the leadership of Madhav Rao, son and successor of Balaji Baji Rao. The new Peshwa was in his teens when he

Madhav Rao I.

was called upon to guide the destinies of his nation. He was confronted with enormous difficulties and found in his uncle Raghunath Rao or Raghoba a source of incessant troubles. The inordinate ambition of Raghoba led him to treasonable alliances with the hereditary enemies of the Maratha State, but the young Peshwa proved more than equal to his task. The designs of Raghoba were completely frustrated, and the Peshwa established his authority over his refractory feudatories. He led two successful expeditions against Haidar Ali, humbled the pretensions of the rebellious ruler of Nagpur and sent a formidable army to recover the lost Maratha ascendancy in Hindusthan Proper. The Maratha generals exacted tribute from the Rajputs and Jats and occupied Delhi. Some of the Maratha chiefs, Mahadaji Sindhia among others, had an insatiable grudge against the Rohillas. But before they could invade their territories, the disconcerting news of the young Peshwa's death recalled them to Poona (1772).

His Difficulties and Achievements.

Death of Madhav Rao.

Madhav Rao was succeeded by his brother, Narayan Rao, an inexperienced young man of frivolous habits. The deceased Peshwa did his best to conciliate Raghoba, but Narayan Rao could not pull on well with his uncle and placed him under arrest. Raghoba in his turn entered into a conspiracy with some discontented mercenaries, and Narayan Rao was murdered in the presence of his uncle (1773).

Narayan Rao.

The succession of Raghoba was not opposed and for a few months he enjoyed undisputed authority. But it was soon discovered that Narayan Rao's widow was with child, and a strong party opposed to Raghoba espoused the cause of the unborn child. They were determined to exclude Raghoba from power in any case and decided to secure the Peshwaship for an adopted son in case the child should be a girl. But luckily a son was born and a regency was set up. The brain

Raghunath Rao or Raghoba.

Nana Fadnavis.

of the regency was a young Brahmana, Nana Fadnavis, who had fled from the fatal field of Panipat.

Expelled from the home provinces and hunted from place to place, Raghunath at last opened negotiations with the English of Bombay. The Bombay Government had no grievance against the Government of Poona. Peace prevailed between the two nations at the time. The Bombay authorities were induced to support the cause of Raghoba solely by prospects of territorial acquisition. By the treaty of Surat (1775) Raghoba undertook to cede to the British Salsette and Bassein, two maritime territories adjoining Bombay, and promised to pay the expenses of the war.

Raghoba's Alliance with the English.

A small force under Colonel Keating entered Gujarat and fought an unimportant action. But at this stage the Supreme Government intervened. Hastings was prepared to ratify the treaty of Surat as an accomplished fact, but his opponents were not. They repudiated the action of the Bombay Government and sent Col. Upton to Poona. In 1776 the treaty of Purandar was concluded by which the English retained Salsette and renounced the cause of Raghoba. The terms were not to the liking of the Bombay authorities, and they gave asylum to Raghoba in direct violation of the peace terms. Fortunately for them, their action was upheld by the Directors and the war was reopened. But their jubilation was shortlived, for the invading army was totally defeated and compelled to conclude a humiliating convention at Wadgaon (1779). The convention was repudiated, and the Governor-General, now freed from the obnoxious opposition, threw himself heart and soul on the side of his pro-war colleagues. An army under Goddard traversed the entire breadth of India and appeared on the scene of hostilities. Though Goddard achieved some success in his earlier engagements with the Marathas, he met with a severe reverse

Treaty of Purandar.

Convention of Wadgaon.

General Goddard.

on his way to Poona and was compelled to fall back. This failure was compensated by Popham's brilliant success against Gwalior (1780). In 1782 the treaty of Salbai was concluded, mainly at the instance of Mahadaji Sindhia, who was anxious to have a free hand in Northern India. Nana Fadnavis was opposed to peace at that moment, for the British were involved in another war in South India ; and had the Marathas waited a little longer, they might have extorted better terms. Raghoba was pensioned off, and the English recognised Madhav Rao Narayan as the rightful Peshwa. They obtained Salsette, but gave up some territory to Sindhia. **Treaty of Salbai.**

Second Anglo-Mysore War :—In 1779 a grand alliance was organised by the Nizam against the British He had no difficulty in inducing the Marathas, who were already at war with Bombay, and Haidar Ali to join him. Haidar had not forgotten or forgiven his past injuries ; and fresh offence was given him when the British captured Mahé (1779), a small French settlement within his jurisdiction. War had broken out between England and France in Europe, and the French settlements in India were seized by the British. But Haidar contended that the neutrality of his kingdom had been violated by the capture of Mahé and declared war. The Nizam seceded from the alliance soon afterwards, but Haidar carried on the war with his usual vigour. He cut off a British detachment under Baillie, but was severely defeated by Coote at Porto Novo (1781). The Mysore army again won an important victory over Colonel Braithwaite. In 1782 a French squadron under Suffren, the most brilliant naval leader France has ever produced, appeared in Indian waters. But the same year saw the death of Haidar.

Its Causes.

Events.

Death of Haidar.

A self-made man, Haidar occupies a very high place in the history of his land. He found Mysore

Haidar's Place in Indian History.

a small principality, weakened by dissension and impoverished by misrule, and left it one of the foremost states in India at the time of his death. Extremely hard-working, he was accessible to all ; and he personally supervised the administration, although he could not read or write. Mr. Bowring says: "He was a bold, an original and enterprising commander, skilful in tactics and fertile in resources, full of energy, and never desponding in defeat. He was singularly faithful to his engagements, and straightforward in his policy towards the British. Notwithstanding the severity of his internal rule and the terror which he inspired, his name is always mentioned in Mysore with respect, if not with admiration".

Tipu Sultan.

Haidar's death did not bring the war to a conclusion. His son Tipu was an able military leader and in 1783 captured Brigadier Mathews with all his men. But the same year came news of peace from Europe ; and in 1784 the treaty of Mangalore was concluded between the ruler of Mysore and the British Government in India on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests and prisoners.

Treaty of Mangalore.

Financial Difficulties of Hastings.

During these eight years (1775-83) the British had to fight against heavy odds for their very existence in India. A single mistake might have proved fatal ; and the credit of saving the infant power belongs entirely to Hastings. He could not expect any relief in men or money from London, for England was then engaged in war with her American colonies, backed by her old enemies, France and Spain. The long wars proved a great strain on the financial resources of Bengal, and Hastings had to find money by hook or crook. In his anxiety to secure funds he did not pause to consider whether his demands were just or his methods clean.

Chait Sinha of Benares :—His dealings with Chait Sinha, Raja of Benares, were marked with unnecessary severity and undeserved harshness. The Raja was originally a feudatory (or Zemindar, as the partisans of the Governor-General contended) of the Nawab of Oudh. But in 1775 the overlordship was transferred to the Company. On July 5 of that year it was definitely agreed that so long as Chait Sinha regularly paid his tribute, "no demands shall be made upon him by the Hon'ble Company, of any kind, or on any pretence whatsoever, nor shall any person be allowed to interfere with his authority, or to disturb the peace of his country". The Raja was not, therefore, legally bound to pay any extra contribution, and he regularly paid the stipulated sum of 22½ lakhs. In 1778 Hastings demanded an extra sum of five lakhs, which was paid. The demand was repeated and, although the Raja sometimes pleaded for delay and exemption, payment was made on every occasion. At last he was called upon to furnish a body of cavalry. The Raja did mobilise a small force, but Hastings had already decided to inflict a fine of fifty lakhs on Chait Sinha for his supposed recalcitrance. The Governor-General proceeded in person to Benares to enforce the penalty, and the Raja was put under arrest. The humiliation of their master infuriated Chait Sinha's men, and they fell upon the Company's Sepoys and massacred them. The rising was eventually suppressed. Chait Sinha fled to Gwalior and his state was conferred upon his nephew, the tribute being raised to forty lakhs. But the Governor-General obtained no immediate financial relief to justify his high-handed proceedings. It appears that he wanted to goad the unfortunate prince into disobedience and penalise him on that account. The new Raja of Benares proved far inferior to his predecessor as a ruler.

The Status of the Raja.

Extra Contribution Demanded.

Chait Sinha Arrested.

Revolt of his Men.

The Begums of Oudh :—The Begums of Oudh, mother and grandmother of the reigning prince, were credited with immense wealth. But the state was impoverished and the Nawab was unable to pay his stipulated subsidy. When Hastings pressed the Nawab to clear his arrears, he pleaded his inability to meet the outstanding liabilities unless he was permitted to seize the treasure of his mother and grandmother. Hastings not only gave his consent in direct contravention of an agreement made in 1775 but sent British troops to Fyzabad, where the two ladies lived, to despoil them of their property. Their eunuchs were inhumanly tortured and compelled to part with the coveted wealth. As Sir Alfred Lyall observes, "The employment of personal severities, under the superintendence of British officers, in order to extract money from women and eunuchs, is an ignoble kind of undertaking", and Hastings's conduct on this occasion was undoubtedly "unworthy and indefensible".

The History of the Case.

These proceedings naturally incensed many impartial people in England, and Hastings's adversaries did not fail to exploit that feeling. He had already been thinking of retiring from office and had tendered his resignation a few months earlier. The news of fresh legislation on India decided him, and in 1785 he left for home.

Pitt's India Act, 1784 :—The new India Act had been passed by the English Parliament in 1784 at the instance of William Pitt. It practically transferred the control of Indian affairs from the Company to the Crown. The supreme authority in civil and military matters was vested in a body of six Commissioners for the Affairs of India, popularly known as the Board of Control. The real power was, however, to be exercised by the President of the Board. The supreme government of India was entrusted to the Governor-General and a

Board of Control.

Council of three who had full control over the subordinate presidencies in all matters relating to peace and war, finance and foreign policy. Thus some of the defects of North's Regulating Act were removed and the responsibility for ruling India was brought home to the British Government. **Other Provisions.**

Impeachment of Warren Hastings:—On his return home, Warren Hastings was formally impeached by the House of Commons for his Indian administration. The trial dragged on for seven years, but Hastings was honourably acquitted on all the charges. He spent his last years in complete retirement and died in 1818 at the ripe age of 85.

Character of Hastings:—The passions and prejudices of his contemporaries have survived to our own day; and it is by no means easy to form a correct estimate of Warren Hastings as man, administrator and statesman. It is difficult to defend or justify some of his dealings. The Rohilla War was inexpedient, and the exactions from Chait Sinha and the Begums were unjustifiable. He certainly broke the covenant of his service by accepting 150,000 rupees from Mani Begum when he visited Murshidabad, a very questionable transaction. However much we may disapprove of the undue fury of his accusers, we must not forget that even people of acknowledged moderation like Pitt and Dundas voted against him in the House of Commons. **Questionable Measures.**

Warren Hastings's arrogance and intolerance probably stiffened the opposition against him, but we must not forget the immense difficulties with which he was confronted. He was a man of indefatigable industry and superhuman courage. Himself a scholar of some ability, he was a patron of learning and scholarship. But as a revenue administrator he did not prove very successful. As a recent writer observes, "Hastings **Merits and Demerits.**

brought to his work a sound experience of Bengal, a fluent and accurate knowledge both of Persian and Bengali: he had the reputation of being a loyal and most efficient servant of the Company. In revenue work his ability was not remarkable, and on his own admission he had no practical working knowledge of it ; in fact his influence on the actual conditions of the revenue was unfortunate, especially when contrasted with his administration and reorganisation of the judicature in the districts, which was a vigorous beneficial movement".

Sir John Malcolm, by no means a hostile critic, writes:—"His most strenuous advocates, while they defend his personal integrity, are forced to acknowledge that the whole system of the government over which he presided was corrupt and full of abuses".

His Place in History.

In spite of all his shortcomings, Warren Hastings will always occupy an honoured place among Anglo-Indian statesmen. It was he who saved the British ascendancy in India when it was assailed on land by the Marathas, the Nizam and Haidar Ali, and on sea by De Suffren. It was then that he reached his full height and proved his exceptional qualities. Like Robert Lord Clive, Warren Hastings also rendered valuable service to his country.

CHAPTER XXXII

FROM MACPHERSON TO MOIRA: FALL OF MYSORE AND THE MARATHAS

Macpherson (1785—86) :—Hastings left India in 1785. His successor did not arrive till the next year. In the meantime the government was held by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson, the senior member of the council, as acting Governor-General. Originally a ship's purser, Macpherson had little ability and less honesty. Nothing worth mentioning happened during his short regime.

Cornwallis (1786—93) :—Earl Cornwallis took charge of the Governor-General's office in September, 1786. A member of the English aristocracy, he enjoyed a high reputation for straightforward conduct and unquestionable integrity. A friend of Henry Dundas, for many years President of the Board of Control, he enjoyed the confidence of the ministers. The British Government in India had earned notoriety for corruption, and Cornwallis had been purposely sent to clean up the administration. The new Governor-General was more happily situated



Cornwallis

The Task before Cornwallis.

His Advantages.

than his predecessor. He was empowered to override the majority of his Council, and he combined in his person the twin offices of Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General. The India Act of 1784 had specifically enjoined upon the Governor-General to avoid war and pursue a policy of peace in his dealings with the Indian States, but before four years elapsed he had to engage in a war that led to further expansion of the Company's territories.

Its Causes.

The Third Anglo-Mysore War:—It is not possible to discuss here all the causes that led to the third Anglo-Mysore conflict. A serious omission in an important letter gave Tipu Sultan ample reasons to apprehend hostilities from the English, although the immediate cause for the breach of peace was afforded by Tipu's aggression against the small principality of Travancore (1789). The Raja was, as an old ally, entitled to British protection, and Cornwallis treated Tipu's attack on the Travancore lines as an act of war. Neither the Nizam nor the Marathas were favourably disposed towards the ruler of Mysore ; and they made common cause with Cornwallis against Tipu Sultan. The allies invaded Mysore, but formidable as the combination seemed, success was by no means speedy. It was not until 1792 that Tipu was brought to terms, though Cornwallis had assumed command of the English army in person. The former had to cede half his territories to the victors and pay an indemnity of 330 lakhs. Two of the Sultan's sons were sent to the Governor-General's camp as hostages. The ceded districts were divided among the allied powers and Tipu's resources were considerably reduced. The critics of Cornwallis blame him for his failure to effect the complete overthrow of Tipu's power. But they forget that the Indian allies of the Governor-General would not permit such a drastic measure. Cornwallis, more-

The Triple Alliance.

Peace Concluded.

over, knew well how reluctant his employers were to add to their already extensive dominions in India.

Administrative Reforms :—But it is for his administrative reforms and not for his military achievements that Cornwallis is best known in this country. He found that the poorly paid civil servants more than made up for their low salary by unofficial perquisites of a doubtful character. He, therefore, provided for a decent salary and definitely forbade all improper sources of income. Thus the principal motive as well as the excuse for corruption was removed, and the honesty and efficiency of the Civil Service were fairly secured.

Corruption Suppressed.

For administrative purposes Cornwallis divided the province into districts. He did not dispense with the old laws of the country, though some of the most crude penalties were abolished. He separated the revenue officials from the judiciary and appointed different courts for trying civil and criminal cases. The *Sadar Diwani Adalat* and the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* as final courts of appeal were retained. A *Zillah* court under a British Judge with a Hindu Pandit and a Muslim Qazi to help him was established for each district to try civil cases. Between the *Zillah* court at the bottom and the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* at the top were four provincial courts.

Districts.

Courts of Law.

Each of these provincial courts was presided over by three British judges assisted by Indian experts in Hindu and Muslim law. Criminal justice was administered by four provincial courts, the judges going on circuit. The collectors had no judicial functions, and the police was placed under the control of the judge of the *Zillah* court, who was vested with the authority of a Magistrate. Each District was divided for purposes of policing into a number of *thanas* or police circles. The principal police officer of a

The Collectors.

Thanas.

The Daroga.

thana was the *Daroga*, an under-paid Indian, who received a small reward for every brigand brought to book besides a trifling "commission on the stolen property recovered". Naturally the police arrangement was most unsatisfactory. Cornwallis had a supreme distrust for Indians and never appointed them to offices of responsibility. The number of qualified British officials was by no means large, and the judicial system set up by Earl Cornwallis had to be largely modified in later times. His land revenue system, however, still exists in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Benares.

Previous Revenue Practice.

Permanent Settlement:—The land revenue system in Bengal was most unsatisfactory when Cornwallis assumed office. As at present, rent was not collected directly from the cultivators. The ordinary Zemindar (revenue farmer) had no hereditary interest in the land he held, for he had no proprietory right. The Zemindari (or the right of collecting rent with certain other duties and responsibilities) was put to auction and let out to the highest bidder for a very short term. It was to the interest of the new landholder to make as much profit as he could within the specified time. The peasants were, therefore, ill-treated and oppressed, and cultivation suffered with the result that the value of the land ultimately deteriorated. This was not the only evil of that unsatisfactory system. Irresponsible speculators often made an impossible bid and failed to make good their contracts when the time for payment came. The collection, therefore, was very uncertain. This was all the more serious, since the Government depended mainly on their income from land revenue. Cornwallis belonged to the landed aristocracy of England. In his own country the landed magnates are the hereditary proprietors of the soil. He naturally expected that a similar system, if introduced into Bengal,

Its Evil Consequences.

would produce beneficial results, and recommended a permanent settlement with the Zemindars. The rent payable by each Zemindar was fixed for ever and he retained the hereditary proprietorship of his land so long as he paid the rent on the stipulated date. His scheme met with the approval of the home authorities and was introduced into Bengal in 1793.

Permanent Settlement.

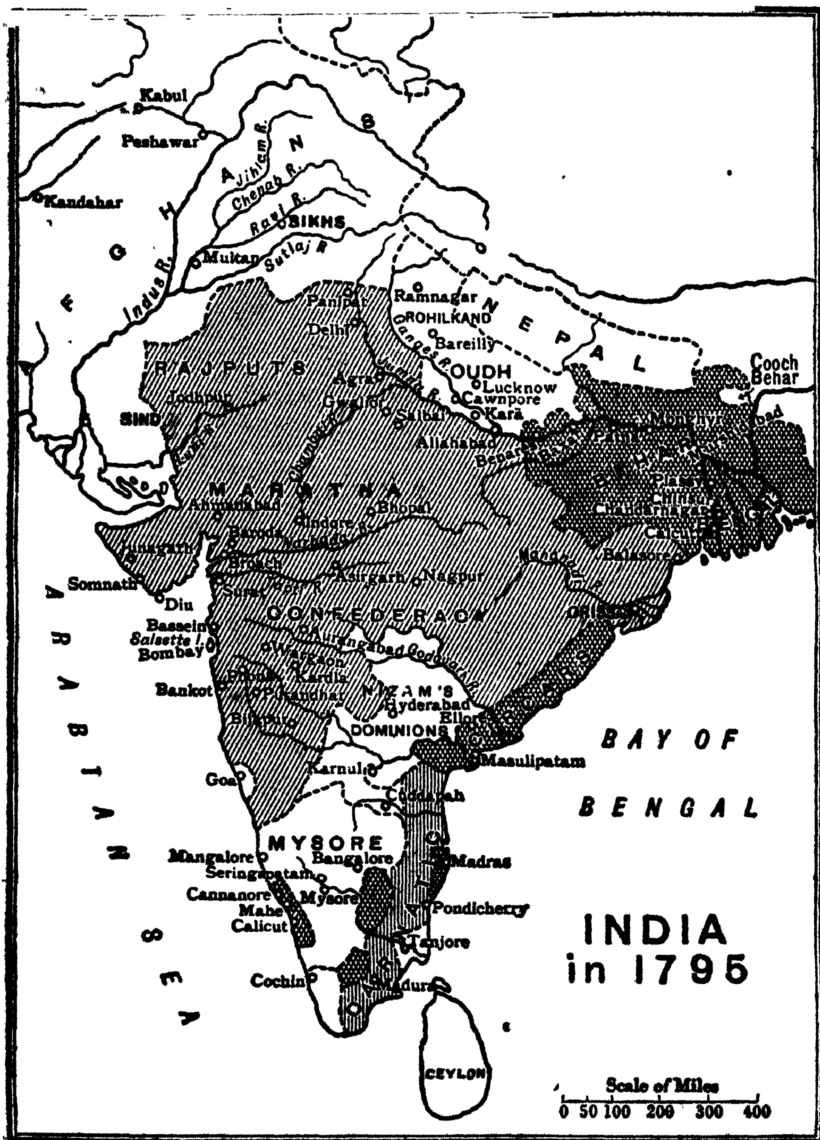
Its Merits and Demerits :—Opinion is sharply divided on the merits and demerits of the Permanent Settlement. That it has not been an unmixed blessing is admitted on all hands. While it immensely improved the position of the Zemindar, it totally ignored the interests of the actual cultivator. The Zemindar derives all the profit from the improved value of the land without making the least contribution to its improvements, and the state is compelled to burden the other classes with heavy taxation for defraying its increasing expenses. But, strangely enough, the original Zeminders were not benefited by this measure. Unfamiliar with the newly introduced law, they failed to pay their rent punctually and lost their property. Some of the defects were not beyond remedy, and the tenants' interest has since been safeguarded by later legislation. On the whole, the peasants of Bengal are much better off than those in other provinces. The Permanent Settlement has also helped to bring into existence a strong and compact middle class who form the intelligentsia in Bengal. Moreover, the new arrangement stabilised the income of the state and this was no small gain as Bengal was expected to finance Bombay and Madras when need arose.

More Favourable to the Land-holder than to his Tenants.

Later Improvements.

In 1793 the Charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years and the monopoly of Indian trade was retained, except for the trifling concession of 3,000 tons of cargo per year made to private merchants. The renewal was not a little due to

Renewal of the Charter.



Kabul
Peshawar
Kandahar
AFGHANS
Jihlam R.
Chenab R.
Ravi R.
SIKHS
Multan
Sutlaj R.
Indus R.
Panipat
Delhi
Ramnagar
ROHILKAND
Bareilly
NEPAL
Ganges R.
OUDH
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Karā
Agra
Jumna R.
Gwalior
Salbai
Allahabad
Benares
Cooch Behar
Monghyr
Patna
BEHAR
Plassey
Chinsura
Chandarnagar
BENGAL
Calcutta
Balasore
ORISSA
RAJPUTS
Jodhpur
SIND
MARATHA
Ahmadabad
Bhopal
Indore
Baroda
Junagarh
Broach
Asirgarh
Nagpur
Somnath
Surat
Diu
CONFEDERACY
Bassein
Salsette I.
Bombay
Aurangabad
Godavari R.
Wargaon
Poona
Kardla
Bankot
Purandhar
NIZAM'S
Hyderabad
Ellore
DOMINIONS
Bijapur
Masulipatam
Karnul
Goa
Cuddapah
MYSORE
Mangalore
Bangalore
Madras
Seringapatam
Cannanore
Mysore
Mahe
Calicut
Pondicherry
Tanjore
Cochin
Madura
CEYLON
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIA in 1795
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400

Cornwallis's support of the Company's monopoly. His services were highly appreciated by his official superiors, and he was made a Marquis before he left India in 1793. He was not a genius, but he was universally respected as an honest man and sincere reformer. His best service to his country was his incessant campaign against corruption and bribery, and his transparent integrity succeeded where the superior ability of Clive and Hastings had failed.

Character of Cornwallis.

Sir John Shore (1793—98) :—Lord Cornwallis was succeeded by Sir John Shore, an old servant of the Company. As a subordinate, Shore had proved eminently efficient and the Governor-Generalship was considered to be the just reward of long and faithful service. Though thoroughly honest, Shore was not a success in the high office he was now called upon to occupy. He was politically timid and literally obeyed the provisions of Pitt's India Act, when a bold departure was needed. He not only avoided a policy of aggression, but definitely refused to interfere in the affairs of the country powers. Not that he never deviated from this course. When Asaf-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh, a subordinate ally of the Company, died, Shore did upset the succession and depose the heir of his choice, a reputed son of the deceased prince. He recognised the claims of the late Nawab's brother, Saadat Ali, instead, and concluded a fresh treaty with him to the immense advantage of his masters. Saadat Ali ceded to the British Allahabad, a place of great strategic importance. Even the most peaceful of the Governors-General made some contribution to the steady expansion of the British Indian empire.

Policy of Non-intervention.

Fresh Treaty with Oudh.

The Marathas :—Shore has been most unsparingly critised for his neutrality when the Marathas dealt a severe blow to the declining power of the Nizam. The treaty of Salbai had left Mahadaji Sindhia free to

extend and consolidate his authority in Nothern India. He used the titular emperor as his tool and quickly built up a vast Maratha empire in Hindusthan. The fiction of the Imperial suzerainy was of great use to him. He obtained for his master, the Peshwa, the office of the *Vakil-i-mutluq* or the vicegerent of the empire, and it was as his *naib* or deputy that he established his ascendancy over the Rajputs and the Jats. The real source of his authority was a powerful army, trained by Benoit de Boigne, a Savoyard (Italian) expert, and officered by European adventurers of diverse races and classes. Mahadaji deliberately abandoned the old Maratha system of fighting, and his Muhammadan and Hindu adversaries were soon brought to their knees. With a view to establishing his ascendancy at Poona, where the real power was wielded by Nana Fadnavis, an astute politician, he went south with a huge army, apparently to pay his respects to the young Peshwa. During his absence there his neighbour, Holkar, challenged his power but was severely defeated by Sindhia's trained battalions. But before his real object was achieved, Mahadaji suddenly died (1794), and his great influence and vast military resources were inherited by Daulat Rao, his grand-nephew and adopted son. A year later died the saintly Ahilya Bai (Ahalya), daughter-in-law of Malhar Rao Holkar; and the government of Indore passed into the hands of Tukoji Holkar, a good soldier with little political ability.

Mahadaji Sindhia's Achievements in the North.

De Boigne.

Conflict with Holkar.

The Nizam and the Marathas :—The death of Mahadaji left Nana without a serious rival. His influence in the Maratha empire, loosely constituted as it was, was second to none. The Nizam was regarded as the hereditary enemy of the Peshwa; and, although the two powers sometimes united against a third party, their old differences remained unsettled. The Maratha claim to *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* always

offered a ready excuse for war. The Marathas allege that the challenge came from the Nizam on this occasion ; but the English assert that Nana's unbounded ambition was at the root of the conflict. In any case war broke out, and the Nizam was totally defeated by the united army of the Maratha chiefs at Kharda (1795) and compelled to surrender much territory. Had Shore interfered, the result might have been different ; and his critics contend that the Nizam did expect, and was entitled to, British support. But Shore might argue that he was precluded from such interference by an unambiguous clause of the last India Act. The Marathas were at peace with the British ; and there was no definite treaty obligation to fight on behalf of the Nizam against a friendly power.

Battle of Kharda or Kurdla.

Confusion at Puna (Poona) :—The battle of Kharda might have proved fatal to the Nizam ; but relief came in the most unexpected manner. Madhav Rao Narayan, the young Peshwa, was tired of the tutelage of Nana and in a moment of despair committed suicide. The next in succession was Raghoba's son, Baji Rao, an inveterate enemy of Nana Fadnavis. The latter did his level best to upset the order of succession ; and the plots and counter-plots that followed are too tedious to recite. The Nizam exploited this dissension in his enemy's camp and recovered his former losses. The Marathas were hopelessly divided amongst themselves ; and, although Nana was restored to office, he never regained his former ascendancy. Baji Rao II was recognised as Peshwa (1796), but he was as weak as wicked and contributed more to the fall of the Maratha empire than anybody else.

Suicide of Madhav Rao Narayan.

Baji Rao II.

Lord Wellesley (1798—1805) :—Sir John Shore vacated office in 1798 and was succeeded by Earl Mornington, better known by his later title of

Marquess Wellesley. The new Governor-General was in the prime of life and an imperialist to his finger-tips. A member of the Board of Control before he came to India, he had diligently studied the problems of this country and was fully equipped for his new office. It was during the war of the French Revolution that he was placed in charge of the British Indian government, and his aim was to make India safe for England. The Peshwa, Sindhia, Holkar and the Nizam had all trained battalions officered, more or less, by Frenchmen ; and Tipu Sultan was an avowed friend of the French Republic. Wellesley was anxious to get those battalions disbanded and to replace French influence by British suzerainty. This could not be accomplished by a policy of non-interference or peaceful persuasion ; and he decided to secure his object by a system of Subsidiary Alliance.

The Aim of Wellesley.

Subsidiary Alliance.

His plan was simplicity itself. The British Indian Government were to undertake the defence, internal and external, of their Indian allies. A stipulated force was to be maintained by the British for this purpose at the expense of the protected prince. Such a prince was expected to cede to the British a part of his territories to ensure the regular payment of the stipulated subsidy. His diplomatic independence had to be abandoned as a matter of course ; and he would not be entitled to have any political relation with any foreign power, once such an alliance was concluded. The alliance guaranteed the existing dominions of the Indian princes in exchange for their independence. None but a weak power would willingly accept such an arrangement, and the first to enter into the Subsidiary Alliance was the Nizam, the feeblest of the whole lot.

Fall of Mysore :—Wellesley next turned his attention to Tipu, who had been in correspondence

with the French Governor-General of Mauritius, and this alone afforded sufficient cause for war. The Sultan might have avoided hostility by following the example of the Nizam ; but he was too haughty to do so. The conflict was a very short one, and Tipu died a soldier's death in defence of his capital (1799). With him fell the newly founded power of Mysore.

Fall of Seringapatam and Death of Tipu.

Character of Tipu :—A brave soldier, an industrious ruler, and energetic innovator, Tipu was in many respects a remarkable man. His private life was without blemish, and he was free from the common vices of his class. He was a fairly good scholar and took a keen interest in foreign politics. In this respect he was far in advance of his fellow Indian princes. He sent embassies to France and Turkey and corresponded with Zaman Shah of Afghanistan Some of his English contemporaries speak very highly of him and freely testify to the popularity he enjoyed among his subjects. But by others, he has been painted as a cruel tyrant, a headstrong despot and an intolerant bigot. Though given to occasional outbursts of temper, Tipu was not guilty of systematic cruelty ; and, though he was a good Muslim, his grants in favour of Hindu temples clearly prove his catholicity in matters religious. But he did not possess the political sagacity of his father, nor was he endowed with the latter's shrewd common sense. He often indulged in useless innovations in the name of reform. Obstinate to a degree, he could not own defeat ; and rather than give up his independence, he gave up his life.

The Partition of Mysore :—The maritime districts of Mysore were annexed by the British, while the Nizam obtained the districts adjoining his own possessions. The remnant of the kingdom of Mysore was restored to a minor prince of the old Hindu dynasty. But the Nizam's share was eventually transferred to

Revival of the Old Hindu Dynasty.

the British and the kingdom of Mysore is at present surrounded on all sides by British territory.

Other Annexations :—Though Pitt's India Act had definitely prohibited further annexation in India, Wellesley firmly believed that the extension of British authority would be to the mutual benefit of the rulers and the ruled, and he never missed any opportunity of bringing fresh principalities under his government. In

Surat and Tanjore.

1799 the Nawab of Surat and the Raja of Tanjore were pensioned off and their territories were annexed. Two

The Carnatic.

years later (1801) the Nawab of the Carnatic was deprived of his kingdom on a charge of treasonable conspiracy ; and the kingdom of Oudh was further re-

Oudh.

duced in extent. Saadat Ali, Sir John Shore's nominee to the Nawabship, was accused of maladministration, but he was not removed from his government. He was only relieved of the fertile tract of land lying between the Ganges and the Jumna (commonly called the *Doab*) with the present Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand divisions.

Egypt and Persia :—To counteract French influence elsewhere, Wellesley sent an Indian force under General Baird to Egypt. The Sepoys rendered a good account of themselves. A diplomatic mission sent to Persia under Captain Malcolm also achieved important

Measures against French Influence.

results. If the Governor-General had had his own way, Ceylon and Mauritius would have also been annexed. He wisely refused to part with the French possessions in India after the peace of Amiens, and when hostilities were renewed the French had no station of their own in India.

The Maratha Empire :—The Maratha empire was

Death of Nana Fadnavis.

steadily speeding on its downward course. Nana Fadnavis died in 1800, and "with him departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta government". The stability of a military empire depends mainly on the warlike qualities of its head ; but Baji Rao II was

no soldier. Incapable of a straightforward policy, the worthless Peshwa tried to set one chief against another. The great chiefs had one by one passed away. Mahadaji Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar were no more. Their descendants did not possess their ability or wisdom and fought against one another. A disputed succession at Indore offered Daulat Rao Sindhia an opportunity of establishing his authority there. But Jaswant Rao Holkar, a natural son of Tukoji, was a dashing cavalry leader and a daring soldier. He recovered the prestige of his family before long, and Sindhia and Holkar became engaged in a deadly war.

Political Confusion.

Jaswant Rao Holkar.

The Treaty of Bassein :—The weak Peshwa made matters worse by his incessant intrigue and treacherous conduct. A brother of Jaswant Rao was put to death with great cruelty. At last the terrible chief appeared in the south and inflicted a severe defeat on the united forces of Sindhia and the Peshwa. Baji Rao immediately fled from his capital ; and Jaswant Rao placed one Vinayak Rao* on the Peshwa's *musnad*. Baji Rao had so long refused to accept the Subsidiary Alliance. But he felt that he had no other alternative but to seek British protection. By the treaty of Bassein (1802) the Peshwa made himself a subordinate ally of the British ; and a British force conducted him back to Puna and restored him to his former office. The powerful Maratha chiefs, however, refused to acknowledge British ascendancy and openly prepared for war. They received secret message of encouragement from the cowardly Peshwa who quickly repented of his hasty action. But even at this moment of imperial need the Maratha chiefs could not make a united effort. While Sindhia and the Raja of Berar mobilised their forces, Holkar did not take the field until it was too late.

Flight of Baji Rao II.

The Maratha Chiefs unite against the British.

* Son of Amrit Rao, adopted son of Raghoba.

The Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803—5) :— Wellesley was fully prepared for the coming contest. The treaty of Bassein placed the English in a position of great advantage. A strong British army under the Governor-General's brother, Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, was already in the Peshwa's territories. Another army under Lord Lake operated against Sindhia's army in North India. The European officers in Sindhia's employ mostly deserted and the trained battalions made but a poor show. Had the Maratha leaders pursued the harassing tactics of their ancestors, the war might have been continued longer. But they preferred to fight their enemies according to Western methods ; and the result was disastrous. Wellesley defeated the combined army of Sindhia and the Raja of Nagpur at Assaye. The Bhonsla's forces were again defeated at Argaon. Meanwhile Sindhia lost Delhi and Agra ; and his northern army was severely beaten by Lake at the battles of Delhi and Laswari. The two chiefs had no other alternative but to own defeat. By the treaty of Devagaon the Raja of Nagpur ceded Cuttack or the Maratha province of Orissa and accepted the Subsidiary Alliance. The Sindhia made peace on similar terms and concluded the treaty of Surji Arjungaon. The loyalty of the Nizam was richly rewarded and he obtained Berar and Ahmadnagar. The war lasted for five months only.

Arthur Wellesley.

Lake.

Assaye.

Argaon.

Laswari.

Treaty of Devagaon.

Treaty of Surji Arjungaon.

Jaswant Rao Holkar who had been watching events now took the field. He pursued the old tactics of the Marathas and completely defeated Colonel Monson. His triumph was however shortlived and his army suffered a defeat at Dig. But Lake's failure to reduce the Jat fortress of Bharatpur revived the Maratha hopes for a while. The Raja of Bharatpur, however, concluded a treaty with the British, and Holkar

Holkar.

Battle of Dig.

Siege of Bharatpur.

would have been completely ruined but for the sudden, reversal of Wellesley's policy following his recall.

Recall of Wellesley :—Brilliant as the British victories were, and far-reaching as their results proved, they entailed a heavy expenditure and no immediate profit could be derived from the new annexations. The Company's debt increased in consequence ; and the aggressive policy of the Governor-General was not, therefore, to the liking of his masters. He further offended them by studied disregard of their orders and instructions. The appointment of his talented brothers to high offices also caused comment. Wellesley was, moreover, imperious and overbearing. So long as his policy was attended with success, the home authorities hesitated to interfere ; but when the news of Monson's disastrous defeat and Lake's repulse at Bharatpur reached England, he was promptly recalled. **Unpopularity of Wellesley's War Policy.**

The Achievements of Wellesley :—The achievements of Wellesley were admittedly great. He destroyed the unfriendly state of Mysore and broke the backbone of the Maratha power. Henceforth British suzerainty was definitely established in India. Clive laid the foundation of the British Indian dominion. Warren Hastings saved it from an untimely dissolution. But the glory of building up the splendid empire belongs to Wellesley. In pursuing his imperial ideals, he was often guilty of insubordination, but he was convinced that he was right and his superiors were not. Moreover, his policy had the supreme justification of success. Busy as he was with diplomacy and war, Wellesley was not unmindful of the practical problems of administration. He knew that an empire cannot be governed by men without adequate training ; and he founded the Fort William College at Calcutta for new recruits to the civil service. It was at his **British Suzerainty in India definitely Established.** **Fort William College.**

suggestion that another College was established in England for those who sought an Indian career. Wellesley occupies a high rank, if not the foremost place, among the British empire-builders in India.

Lord Cornwallis (1805) :—The task of restoring peace and healing the evil effects of war was entrusted to Lord Cornwallis. Old and infirm, he accepted the heavy burden of the Governor-General's office for a second time with commendable public spirit. But he died at Ghazipur three months after his arrival in India, and Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the Council, became acting Governor-General.

Death of Cornwallis.

Sir George Barlow (1805-7) :—Barlow carried out the policy laid down by Lord Cornwallis and made peace with Holkar on very lenient terms. The defeated Maratha chief not only got back his lost territories, but his indefinite rights in Rajputana were also recognised. The Rajput princes were thus left at his mercy, though the help they had rendered to the British deserved a better recognition. An insignificant rising, in which Tipu Sultan's sons at Vellore were suspected to have been implicated, was the only other notable incident of Barlow's regime. The mutiny was easily suppressed, and the Mysore princes were removed to Calcutta.

Peace with Holkar.

Vellore Mutiny.

Lord Minto (1807-13) :—Lord Minto was President of the Board of Control before he became Governor-General of India (1807). He accepted office with evident reluctance, and the Directors wanted him to pursue a policy of peace and non-interference. The foreign policy of the British Indian Government was largely influenced by a well-founded fear of French aggression, and one of the earliest acts of the new Governor-General was to send diplomatic missions to Persia and Afghanistan (1808). A political revolution before the British envoy could reach the Afghan capital rendered the Kabul mission totally ineffective and the Persian

Diplomatic Mission to Afghanistan and Persia.

mission also met with little success. But Minto was far more successful in his diplomatic dealings with Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Raja of Lahore.

Ranjit Singh :—Ranjit was a boy of twelve when his father died (1792). He rendered conspicuous service to Zaman Shah of Kabul, who had inherited the claims of Ahmad Shah Abdali in the Punjab. Ranjit was appointed to the governorship of Lahore with the title of Raja at the age of nineteen by the Afghan King. The Sikhs were at the time divided into many bands called *Misls*, and the prevailing chaos in the Punjab afforded Ranjit Singh an excellent opportunity of building up a new power. He soon threw off the Afghan yoke and gradually extended his authority over the Punjab proper and Kashmir. He employed European adventurers to train and discipline his army. The Sikh States south of the Sutlej would have succumbed to his superior power but for British intervention.



Ranjit Singh

Early Career.

Occupation of Ludhiana.

A local quarrel gave Ranjit the welcome opportunity of crossing the Sutlej (1806) and occupying Ludhiana ; but the cis-Sutlej chiefs sought the protection of the British. Lord Minto sent Charles Metcalfe to Ranjit's Court, and a treaty of "perpetual amity" was signed at Amritsar (1809), by which Ranjit Singh undertook not to commit any encroachments on the possessions of the Sikh chiefs south of the Sutlej. British troops

The Treaty of Perpetual Amity.

were posted at Ludhiana, and the frontier was thus pushed to the banks of the Sutlej.

Oversea Exploits :—The activities of French privateers in the eastern waters made the reduction of the islands held by the French and the Dutch a matter of urgent necessity. Accordingly, the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon were seized (1809-10) and the Moluccas or the Spice islands were conquered from the Dutch (1810). The occupation of Java, the most important station of the Dutch, followed soon (1811), the Governor-General himself having joined the expedition. But all these conquests except Mauritius were restored to their respective owners at the conclusion of the war.

Mauritius. Bourbon.

Spice Islands.

Java.

Minor Troubles :—In India Minto had some minor troubles to suppress,—an ineffectual rising in Travancore (1808-9) and a mutiny in the Madras army (1809). But they were quickly disposed of and caused no anxiety.

Travancore Rising.

Mutiny at Madras.

The Renewal of the Charter—In 1813 the Charter of the East India Company was renewed. The British Government at last yielded to public opinion, and the Company lost its monopoly in Indian trade, although the exclusive rights in Chinese commerce were retained for some time to come.

Company's Loss of Indian Monopoly.

Lord Moira (1813-23):—In 1813 Earl Minto was succeeded by the Earl of Moira, better known as the Marquess of Hastings. The new Governor-General was a soldier, and it was reserved for him to complete the unfinished work of Wellesley. But before he came to grips with the Marathas, he had to fight a strenuous war with the hardy hillmen of the Himalayas.

The Anglo-Gurkha Conflict (1814-16):—Shortly after Clive's victory at Plassey, the Gurkhas had, under

the leadership of Prithwi Narayan, occupied the Nepal valley and Kathmandu (1768). Their kingdom quickly expanded, and in 1814 their southern boundary met the northern frontier line of the British Indian empire. The boundary was uncertain and ill defined, and the Gurkhas often encroached on the British regions. In 1814 Lord Hastings declared war against the intruders.

Rise of the Gurkha Power.

The campaign was planned by the Governor-General himself, and the Gurkha kingdom was simultaneously invaded at four different points. But the Nepalese were good soldiers, the British officers were unfamiliar with their peculiar tactics, and the country was still unknown. General Gillespie was killed in an assault on Kalanga ; but this misfortune was more than retrieved when the Gurkha general Amar Sinha Thapa had to surrender the fort of Malaon to General Ochterlony (1815). Ochterlony then marched towards the Gurkha capital ; and the Nepalese found that further hostility was useless. By the treaty of Sagauli they ceded the present districts of Kumaun and Garhwal with the greater part of the Tarai, renounced their claims to Sikkim and agreed to receive a British resident at Kathmandu.

Gillespie.

Ochterlony.

Treaty of Sagauli.

The Pindari War (1817-18) :—Lord Hastings next turned his arms against the Pindaris, cruel marauders who lived on plunder and caused endless injury to the settled population. The Pindaris originally served as auxiliary forces in the Maratha army and lived under the protection of the Maratha chiefs, their greatest patrons being Sindhia and Holkar. After the fall of the Maratha power they found themselves out of employment and began to operate on their own account. The Pindaris had their peculiar organisation and their bands consisted of recruits from all faiths and races. Every year they assembled at an appointed place and set out on their marauding expeditions in the

Early History of the Pindaris.

autumn. Though well armed and numerous, they seldom risked a pitched battle and quickly took to flight at the approach of a regular army. To overtake them was not easy and even the most distant parts of the country were not free from their depredations. Some of their leaders were very powerful; and Lord Hastings had to come to an understanding with the Indian rulers before he attempted to round up the Pindaris. By January 1818 the Pindaris were practically annihilated. Karim Khan, one of their prominent leaders, surrendered to the British and was given a small estate in the United Provinces. Chitu was killed by a tiger. Amir Khan, the most formidable of them, had come to terms earlier and was rewarded with the Nawabship of Tonk. Thus India was rid of a terrible pest, more destructive than wild beasts and more subversive of social order than epidemic or war.

Karim Khan.

Chitu.

Amir Khan.

The Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-19):— Meanwhile, Lord Hastings was involved in a fresh war with the Marathas. The Peshwa found the British control very irksome. Fresh intrigues led to fresh humiliations, until he was required to cede the Konkan, give up some important strongholds, and renounce the headship of the Maratha empire (June 1817). The principal Maratha chiefs were not reconciled to the loss of their independence and they had every sympathy with the Peshwa's desire to throw off the British yoke. In November 1817 the Peshwa fell upon the British residency at Khirki (Kirkee or Khadki) with an overwhelming force, but his assault was completely repulsed. A few weeks later, the attack of Apa Sahib (of Nagpur) on the British Resident at Sitabaldi totally failed. The Holkar's force was routed at Mahidpur and he came to terms almost immediately afterwards (Jan. 1818). After severe reverses at Koregaon and Ashti, Baji Rao II

Causes.

Battle of Khirki.

Sitabaldi.

Mahidpur.

Koregaon and Ashti.

surrendered to Sir John Malcolm (1818). Apa Sahib fled to the Punjab and subsequently died in Rajputana.

Result :—Baji Rao was deposed ; and with him the Peshwaship became extinct and his dominions were placed under British rule. The ex-Peshwa was granted a liberal pension (8 lakhs per year) ; and he spent his last days at Bithur near Cawnpur. Apa Sahib was deposed and his army was disbanded. The territories of the Bhonsla Raja lying to the north of the Narmada (Narbada) were annexed, the remnant of the kingdom being left to a minor grandson of Raghuji II. The small principality of Satara was created for the benefit of Pratap Sinha, a lineal descendant of Shivaji and the theoretical head of the Maratha empire.

The Peshwa Pensioned off.

Nagpur.

Satara.

The British authority was thus firmly established from the Sutlej to the Brahmaputra, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The titular emperor was a British pensioner, and the fiction of his supremacy was formally abandoned. The Nizam was under British tutelage ; and the Maratha power was completely broken. The Rajputs had neither the strength nor the inclination to challenge their new suzerains. In theory, the feudatory princes were the equal allies of the British ; in practice, they had no political independence. Only the Punjab under Ranjit Singh and the Gurkha kingdom of Nepal could claim to be sovereign states when Lord Hastings left India in 1823.

British Supremacy in India.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE EPOCH OF SOCIAL REFORM AND OF EXPANSION BEYOND THE SUTLEJ AND THE BRAHMAPUTRA

General Character of the Period :—With 1823 British rule in India entered upon a new phase. The military conquests of the previous period had consolidated British authority over the whole area extending from the Sutlej to the Upper Brahmaputra and the Karnafuli. After 1823 the frontiers of British India were gradually pushed beyond those rivers till at last they reached the river Salween in the east and the Sulaiman and Kirthar ranges in the west. In foreign affairs a new orientation took place. The downfall of Napoleon had shattered the dreams of French dominion in the Near and Middle East. But the place of France was now taken by Russia. The steady expansion of this new power kept the English in ever-growing alarm and powerfully influenced their foreign policy on the north-west frontier of India. In internal affairs, the period was one of all-round progress, especially in social and educational matters, the most important reforms being associated with the names of Bentinck and Dalhousie. The latter completed the fabric of British rule by sweeping away many of the States still governed by Indian princes. A storm burst in the time of his successor, but it soon blew over, leaving the British the undisputed masters of India.

British Expansion beyond the Brahmaputra and the Sutlej.

Fear of Russia.

Social Reform and Educational Progress.

Completion of the Fabric of British Rule.

Lord Amherst (1823-28) :—After the departure of Lord Hastings, Mr. Adam acted as Governor-

General, pending the arrival of Lord Amherst, who took up the duties of his high office in 1823. The most prominent events of his administration are the First Burmese War and the capture of Bharatpur. A mutiny at Barrackpore and the establishment of a sanatorium at Simla also deserve mention.

The First Burmese War (1824-26) :—About 1750, a strong monarchy had been established in Burma by Alompra. While his dynasty ruled, the Burmese kept on expanding in all directions. They conquered Arakan in 1784, Manipur in 1813 and Assam in 1821-22. In 1818 they called upon Lord Hastings to give up Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad and Kasimbazar. They made a grievance of the refusal of the British authorities to surrender refugees from Arakan and Assam, who used Indian territory as a base of operations against the Government of Burma. Burmese officers drove in the outposts of the Indian Empire from the Shahpuri Island (near Chittagong) to Dudpatli and prepared to invade Bengal. The patience of the British was now exhausted, and they expelled the Burmese from Assam. The latter, however, successfully repelled a British detachment at Ramu on the Chittagong frontier. But this did not prevent a British attack on Rangoon, which was captured almost without resistance. The Burmese General, Bandula, who had hurried to meet the enemy, was killed by a chance shot at Donabew, and the British invaders advanced towards Mandalay. The Government of Burma now yielded. By the treaty of Yandabo (1826), they agreed to surrender Arakan, Tenasserim, Assam, Kachar, Jaintia and Manipur, keep a British Resident at Ava, their capital, and pay an indemnity of a million sterling.

Burmese Expansion.

Battle of Ramu.

Fall of Rangoon.

Treaty of Yandabo. Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim Annexed.

Fall of Bharatpur (1826) :—The war had repercussions in the Indian States. The initial reverses

of the British gave wide currency to the belief that their days were numbered, and, consequently, led to outbreaks in several places. In Bharatpur, the claim of the son of a deceased prince was contested by his cousin, Durjan Sal. The Governor-General at first followed a policy of non-intervention, but ultimately decided to support the rightful heir, when Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Resident, pointed out the inadvisability of allowing a usurper to create trouble with impunity and engage in intrigue against the paramount power. An expedition was eventually sent under Lord Combermere, who succeeded in storming the fort that in 1805 had resisted the assaults of Lord Lake. Durjan Sal was deported and the political and military prestige of the British Government vindicated.

Ambition of Durjan Sal.

British Capture of Bharatpur.

The Barrackpore Mutiny (1824) :—Indian Sepoys looked upon the Burmese as magicians and believed that they would lose caste if they went to Burma in ships. They had other grievances as well; and, as these were not inquired into, an outbreak took place at Barrackpore, which "was only quelled after the mutinous regiments had been fired upon by the British artillery and the parade ground made a shamble". The event is of some importance as marking the beginning of a change in the mental outlook of the Sepoys that was of evil omen for the future.

Simla :—A noteworthy event of the time of Amherst is the selection of Simla as the summer seat of the Governor-General.

Lord William Bentinck (1828-35) :—On the resignation of Lord Amherst, the affairs of the Government were conducted by Mr. Butterworth Bayley, the Senior Member of the Council, till the arrival of Lord William Bentinck. Bentinck assumed office in 1828.

Twenty-one years before, he had been recalled from the Governorship of Madras because of his share of responsibility for the Vellore mutiny. Now he was given a chance to regain his reputation in a broader and more responsible sphere. He acquitted himself with credit on this occasion. The seven years of his administration are among the most memorable in the annals of India. Inferior to Warren Hastings in administrative capacity, to Wellesley in his vigour in pursuing imperial ideals and to Dalhousie in ability to organize victory,—in benevolence, in determination to check social abuses and in zeal for promotion of the well-being of Indians he was superior to all these statesmen. His rule forms an important epoch in the history of Indian reform, and he is entitled to a prominent place among the rulers of this country.


Lord William Bentinck

Estimate of Bentinck's Administration.

Finance:—A policy of retrenchment was one of the distinguishing features of the administration of Lord William Bentinck. Economy had become an imperative necessity owing to the wastefulness of the Burmese War, which had caused a deficit of one million sterling. The first concern of the Governor-General was to effect retrenchment and increase income. His labours were eminently successful, the deficit being changed to a surplus of one million and a half. The measures that brought about this change may be

Reduction of Batta.

Opium.

Land Assessment.

indicated as follows. The extravagant salaries and allowances (batta) of certain civil and military officers were curtailed. Duties were levied on the opium of Malwa. Certain estates in Bengal, which had escaped assessment, were made to pay revenue. Large contributions came to the exchequer from the revision of the land settlements of Madras and Agra. In making these settlements, Government was not guided by the precedent of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The Madras settlement was superintended by Sir Thomas Munro (1820-27). It was based on the *ryotwari* system, i.e. on a direct contractual relation between the Government and the ryots for a term of years. The assessments of Agra (a part of the existing United Provinces) were generally made for thirty years. In this case the contracts were made with the small village proprietors or their representatives.

Progress of Commerce :—Commercially, the rule of Bentinck was not barren of interest. Treaties were made with the Amirs of Sind, which opened their territories to peaceful commerce. The friendship with Maharaja Ranjit Singh was reaffirmed in 1831. The ruler of the Punjab agreed to encourage trade along the Sutlej and the Upper Indus. The extension of the area of commerce inevitably led to an extension of political influence. It is interesting to note that relations with Sind, at first peaceful and friendly, led in the long run to the incorporation of the province into the British Empire. Bentinck also took pains to foster communication between India and Europe through the Red Sea and the Suez Route.

Abolition of Provincial Courts.

Justice :—In the domain of Justice, Bentinck abolished the dilatory Provincial Courts, armed Collectors with judicial powers, and substituted the vernacular for Persian as the court language. The refoms of Cornwallis had excluded Indians from responsible posts

Increased Employment of Indians.

in the judicial as well as executive services. This defect was now removed by the appointment of the judicial officers now known as subordinate judges. The salary of Indian judges was increased, and their jurisdiction enlarged. The combined effect of these measures was to make justice less dilatory, less expensive and more certain.

Abolition of Flogging in the Indian Army.

Military Administration :—In 1833 the Governor-General took up the duties of Commander-in-Chief as well and devoted himself to a careful study of military problems. His observation (in 1835) that the Indian army was the most expensive and the least efficient in the world, found confirmation in the upheaval of 1857. Considerable economy was effected in the army, but the pay of sepoys who had served for a long time was increased. The penalty of flogging was abolished for Indian troops in 1833.

Treaty with the Amirs.

Friendship with the Sikhs.

Foreign Relations .—With regard to foreign powers, the Governor-General tried to maintain peace and avoid war. We have seen that he formally re-affirmed friendly relations with Ranjit Singh. But his love of peace was not love of pacifism. As a matter of fact, the treaty with the Amirs of Sind and that with the king of the Sikhs were dictated to a large extent by a desire to counteract the influence of Russia, the extension of whose territories in Central Asia was recognised to be the greatest danger to which the north-west frontier of the British Empire in India was exposed.

Annexation of Kachar and Coorg.

With reference to the protected states, he was tied to the policy of non-intervention. This sometimes led him to tolerate maladministration, as in Oudh. But he was no uncompromising advocate of the policy of "let alone". Thus he annexed Kachar in 1830, placed Mysore under temporary British administration in 1831, and added Coorg to the empire (1834). But the motive force of his policy was not territorial ambition, but the

well-being of the people concerned. The royal line of Kachar had come to an end with the death of its last chief, and the people showed willingness to come under British rule. The Raja of Mysore was misgoverning his state. The Chief of Coorg was an insane tyrant who had inflicted dreadful injuries upon his people.

Social Reform :—In the sphere of social reform particular attention is due to the abolition of "Suttee" (Sati) and the suppression of Thuggee (Thagi). 'Sati' literally means a chaste woman. It was particularly applied to Hindu widows who burnt themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. The practice had gained such a terrible hold on the popular mind that in Bengal alone no fewer than 700 widows are said to have been burnt alive in 1817. Lord William Bentinck determined to abolish this inhuman custom. The task was both delicate and difficult. Lord Amherst had shrunk from carrying out this very reform notwithstanding the direction of the authorities in England. Even a benevolent administrator like Elphinstone was doubtful if interference with such a time-honoured usage was compatible with the Company's traditional policy of religious neutrality. But the Governor-General assumed full responsibility himself and in 1829 prohibited the practice as criminal and punishable by death. The hands of the Government were strengthened by the support it received from Indian reformers like Raja Rammohan Ray and Dwarka Nath Tagore.

Abolition of Sati, 1829.

Thuggee Suppressed :—The Thags or Thugs were a fraternity of assassins who maintained themselves by strangling and poisoning unwary travellers. They infested the highways of all parts of India except the Konkan and had an elaborate code of words and signs peculiar to themselves. Bentinck entrusted the task of exterminating these pests to Sir William Sleeman. During the six years following 1831, 3266

Thugs were disposed of, and the highways made safe for travellers. **Suppression of Thagi.**

Education (1835) :—In the domain of Education, the administration of Bentinck constitutes an important landmark. At this time there was a great controversy between two rival schools of thought on the nature of education to be imparted in India as well as the official medium of instruction. One party stood for the diffusion of English education and Western science, while the other championed the cause of Oriental learning. The Orientalists were not a negligible factor and were ably led by the eminent Sanskrit scholar, Horace Hayman Wilson. Yet their opponents gained the day. The triumph of the latter was due in large measure to Lord Macaulay, under whose inspiration the Government adopted a resolution in 1835 to the effect that henceforth the funds granted by them for education should be devoted solely to the propagation of education on English lines. The resolution is of momentous significance. It made English the official and literary language of India and paved the way for the uninterrupted extension of Western culture and the free employment of Indians in positions of trust and responsbility. A medical college was established in Calcutta in the same year. **Education on Western Lines Approved.**

The Charter Act of 1833 :—The new educational policy was the logical outcome of the Charter Act (passed by Parliament in 1833), which stated emphatically that "no native of India nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour". The Act also abolished the Company's monopoly of the China trade. In India it was forbidden to enter into further commercial transactions. It remained only a governing institution in subordination to the British

"Governor-General of India".

Law Member appointed.

Parliament. The title of the Governor-General was changed from Governor-General of Bengal to Governor-General of India. The presidencies of Bombay and Madras were deprived of their powers of legislation. A fourth presidency was sanctioned at Agra. But the provision remained in abeyance, and a Lieutenant-Governorship was eventually created. A Law Member was added to the Governor-General's Council, the first member being Lord Macaulay, the champion of Western Education.

Raja Rammohan Ray.

Alexander Duff.

Notable Contemporaries of Bentinck :—Lord Bentinck was fortunate in having as his contemporaries a number of eminent men who played an important part in the social and intellectual advancement of India. Foremost among them was Raja Rammohan Ray, an ardent reformer and the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. Among other celebrities of the time may be mentioned Henry Vivian Derozio, one of the pioneers of education in Bengal, Alexander Duff, the founder of the General Assembly's Institution, Colonel Tod, the author of the great work, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,* which has profoundly influenced Bengali literature, and Horace Hayman Wilson, the translator of the Rig Veda and the writer of a treatise on the religious sects of the Hindus, which was largely drawn upon by Akshaya Kumar Datta, one of the creators of Bengali prose.

Repeal of Restrictions on the Press.

Sir Charles Metcalfe (1835-36) :—Lord William Bentinck resigned in 1835. Sir Charles Metcalf, the newly appointed Governor of the presidency of Agra, succeeded him as provisional Governor-General. His administration is memorable on account of the abolition of restriction on the press in India. But this liberal measure alienated the sympathy of the Court of Directors, and he was not made permanent. Lord Auckland was appointed in his place.

Lord Auckland (1836-42) :—The new Governor-General took steps to develop education and irrigation and abolished the pilgrim's tax. A famine broke out in Northern India in 1837-38, carrying off some eight lakhs of people. The Government organised relief work at a cost of 38 lakhs. **Internal Administration.** **Famine.**

Protected States :—Auckland had to deal with disaffection in certain Feudatory States. In 1837 there was an abortive attempt at rebellion in Oudh. The Raja of Satara and the Nawab of Karnul were suspected of disaffection towards the British Government. The former was replaced by his brother, and the territory of the latter was annexed in 1842.

The First Afghan War (1839-42) :—Lord Auckland allowed himself to be dragged into a military enterprise that marred his reputation and brought on the English one of the greatest disasters that befell their arms in Asia. This was the first Afghan war—apparently an outcome of the anti-Russian policy of Lord Palmerston, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in England. For some time Russia had been extending her power in Central Asia. By 1834 her influence at the Persian Court was predominant. The ambition of Russia was a source of ever-increasing anxiety to the British. That anxiety, as we have seen, inspired to a large extent Lord William Bentinck's treaty with the Amirs of Sind. Now, when in 1837 the Persians under Russian encouragement threatened Herat in Afghanistan, the uneasiness of the British deepened into alarm. Lord Palmerston urged on the Indian Government the necessity of taking steps for combating what he deemed to be an impending danger to the Indian Empire. The Government of Lord Auckland sent a mission under Alexander Burnes to Kabul to negotiate with Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Afghanistan. The envoy recommended an alliance **Anti-Russian Policy.**

with the Amir. The latter was willing to accept the British overtures favourably, provided that the Indian Government induced Maharaja Ranjit Singh to restore to him the city of Peshawar. But Lord Auckland dared not offend the Sikh king. The negotiations consequently fell through, and Dost Muhammad drifted into a Russian alliance. Lord Auckland now determined to expel the Amir, and replace him by a subservient ruler. His choice fell on Shah Shuja, an ex-king of Kabul, who was living at Ludhiana as a pensioner of the British Government. A tripartite treaty was arranged between Shah Shuja, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the English (1838).

Treaty of 1838.

Shah Shuja Installed at Kabul, 1839.

Success at first attended the arms of the allies. Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul itself fell into their hands. Dost Muhammad surrendered, and his rival was triumphantly enthroned in his place (1839).

The situation, however, was full of elements of danger. The rule of Shah Shuja rested on British bayonets, and the "infidel" foreigners could but evoke feelings of deep hostility in the minds of the freedom loving Afghans. The popular discontent at alien domination became all the more intense on the manifestation of moral laxity on the part of the troops in occupation.

Afghan Rising.

At a time of apparent tranquillity, a disturbance broke out in Kabul when Alexander Burnes was pulled out of his house by a howling mob and hacked to pieces (1841). The British officers betrayed on this occasion a lamentable want of competence and energy. The movement, which might have been nipped in the bud by timely action, was allowed to grow to formidable proportions. Even then the army might have occupied the citadel of Kabul and held out there till relief came. But, instead of this, they chose the less honourable alternative of evacuation. Macnaghten,

the British political officer on the spot, concluded a humiliating treaty with Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad and the leader of the revolt, by which it was agreed that the British forces should evacuate the country, and that Dost Muhammad should be set free. Shah Shuja was given the choice of remaining in the country or withdrawing with the British army. The British envoy added irresolution to timidity when he entered into negotiations with rival chiefs. The result was that he was betrayed, inveigled into an interview with Akbar Khan, and there murdered.

Instead of breaking off all negotiations with the murderers of their colleague, the British officers stooped to make still further concessions. They surrendered arms and ammunition, and then, entirely defenceless, started on their march towards India. They struggled on with ranks constantly thinned by the stinging snow of the Afghan winter and an unintermitted shower of bullets from Afghans, whose fury Akbar Khan was unable or unwilling to control. "The retreat became a rout and the rout a massacre". The army, including camp-followers, was about 16,500 strong when it started on its perilous journey. Of this 120 men surrendered to Akbar Khan. The rest perished on the way. Only one man, Dr. Brydon, reached Jalalabad to tell the tale of the terrible tragedy.

Annihilation of the British Army.

The only gleam of light in the encircling gloom was the gallant resistance offered by Sale and Nott in Jalalabad and Kandahar respectively.

Lord Ellenborough (1842-44) :—The Afghan disaster was so overwhelming that Lord Ellenborough, who relieved Lord Auckland in 1842, thought it wise to direct an immediate withdrawal of the British troops still remaining in Afghanistan. But this inglorious policy of stampede was unpopular in the army. The Government, therefore, after some hesitation, autho-

The Army of Retribution.

rised the advance of Nott from Kandahar and Pollock from Peshawar. The town and fortifications of Ghazni were destroyed and the so-called "gates of Somnath", taken away by Sultan Mahmud in the eleventh century, recovered. The great bazaar of Kabul was blown up. The army then returned to India to be received by Lord Ellenborough with pompous paeans and bombastic proclamations. Dost Muhammad was allowed to return to Kabul. Shah Shuja, his rival, had already been assassinated by the insurgents.

The "Gates of Somnath."

Conquest of Sind (1843) :—Lord Ellenborough now undertook another enterprise, which is even more blameworthy than the Afghan venture of his predecessor. This was the annexation of Sind. The territory of Sind embraces the lower valley of the Indus. It once formed part of the empire of Ahmad Shah Durrani, but ever since the end of the eighteenth century it had been governed in practical independence by the Amirs or Mirs of the Talpur family, who came from Baluchistan. The chiefs were divided into three branches stationed at Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur. The British had long been interested in the Lower Indus valley. By agreements with the Amirs in 1809, which were renewed in 1820, they had excluded French influence from Sind. In 1831 Maharaja Ranjit Singh proposed to the British the partition of the province. But the latter did not encourage the idea. The next year, however, Bentinck concluded a treaty with the Amirs by which it was agreed that Sind should be opened to merchants and traders from Hindusthan Proper, but would remain closed against armed vessels or military stores. In the following years the British defended the province from the ambition of Ranjit Singh, who wanted to incorporate it into the Sikh empire. But the Government of Auckland imposed on the Amirs in 1838 a British

Talpur Family.

Ambition of Ranjit Singh.

Resident as the price of protection. During the First Afghan War, Sind was used as a base of operations, though by the treaty of 1832 the entry of armed forces into the territory had been strictly forbidden. A new treaty, thrust upon the Amirs in 1839, placed the province formally under British protection and compelled its rulers to pay for the maintenance of a British force. Finally, vague charges of disaffection were brought against the Amirs; and Sir Charles Napier was sent to Sind in 1842 with full political and military powers. He dictated a fresh treaty by which the Amirs were required to cede certain territories, to furnish fuel for British vessels and give up the right to coin money. Before the negotiations were over, Napier acted as if Sind had passed under his authority. His high-handed measures evoked bitter resentment among the fierce Baluchis, which found expression in an attack on the Residency (1843). War was now declared. The British won two victories at Miani and Dabo. The Amirs were expelled, and Sind was annexed to the Bombay Presidency.

Appointment of a British Resident.

Sind Placed under British Protection.

Napier in Sind.

Baluchi Rising.

Miani and Dabo.

Annexation of Sind.

The Gwalior Outbreak (1843):—The Maratha War of 1817-19 had left Gwalior, ruled by the family of Sindhia, the most powerful Indian military state south of the Sutlej. In 1843, the death of the ruling chief without issue led to the adoption of a minor to succeed to the *Gadi*. There was a dispute about the Regency, and the Army, 40,000 strong, showed signs of restlessness. Lord Ellenborough calculated that, if the Gwalior troops joined hands with the Sikhs of the Punjab, it would be difficult to deal with the combination. He determined to prevent that underisable development and sent his own men to the Chambal to deal with the situation. The stubborn Gwalior troops were defeated in two engagements, viz. at Maharajpur and Paniar. Gwalior was placed under a Council of

Maharajpur and Pa—

Regency, subject to the control of a British Resident. Its army was reduced to 9,000 men, and a contingent of 10,000 men was formed under officers selected from the British Army.

Internal Administration :—The Government of Lord Ellenborough prohibited the legal recognition of slavery in India and suppressed lotteries. Attempts were made to improve police administration by the appointment of Deputy Magistrates and increasing the pay and prospects of Indian police officers.

Abolition of Slavery.

Police Reform.

Lord Hardinge (1844-48) :—Lord Ellenborough was recalled in 1844. His successor was Sir Henry, afterwards Lord, Hardinge, an experienced soldier who had taken part in the Napoleonic War and had been a member of parliament for two decades.

Internal Reforms :—The Governor-General took steps to suppress Sati and infanticide in the Indian States and wean the Khonds away from human sacrifice. Education was fostered, and the efforts of Government in this direction were ably seconded by a galaxy of Bengali educationists, the most renowned among whom were Krishna Mohan Banerji, Bhudev Mukherji and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. The Indian railway system was planned, and the construction of the Ganges canal, begun by Auckland but suspended in the time of his successor, was resumed (1847).

Social Reform.

Vidyasagar.

The First Sikh War (1845-46) :—The chief title of Sir Henry Hardinge to fame rests on his success in dealing with the Sikhs of the Punjab. Before dwelling on this memorable event, we would do well to attempt a brief retrospective review of the career of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the founder of the Sikh monarchy. By the Treaty of Amritsar (1809) he had undertaken not to carry his arms beyond the Sutlej. This limitation shattered one of the most cherished dreams of the Maharaja—the idea of bringing all the

Ranjit Singh.

Sikhs on both sides of the Sutlej under the authority of one kingdom. Yet it did not induce him to resign himself to a life of inaction. In 1813 he inflicted on the Afghans a severe defeat at Haidaru. Ten years later, he won a yet more brilliant victory at Theri near Naoshera. In 1834 Peshawar passed formally under Sikh control, and Hari Singh Nalwa, the Sikh commander, proved a capable warden of the frontier. The impact of Sikh expansion was not felt on the Afghan frontier alone: it threatened also to overwhelm the principalities of Sind. At this moment the English appeared on the scene, and once more set bounds to the ambition of Ranjit Singh. Notwithstanding these limitations, the empire over which the Maharaja ruled in the evening of his life was an imposing one—large in extent and rich in renown. Ranjit Singh was not only the creator of an empire but the recreator of its army. He transformed it from "a mass of horsemen brave but ignorant of war as an art" into a military engine of terrible efficiency and power. The removal of his powerful personality in 1839 was the signal for an era of confusion and disorder. The central civil government collapsed, and the Khalsa soldiery became the arbiters of the destiny of the State. In 1843, the throne was occupied by Dalip Singh, a minor, his mother, Rani Jindan, acting as regent. The army had become by this time the virtual dictator of the State. The Lahore Durbar wanted to get rid of this terrible incubus. But the only means it could devise was to urge it on to invade British territory in the belief that either it would be crushed in its conflict with the English or it would lose its superabundant energy in a career of conquest. It is, however, doubtful whether the Sikh soldiery would have entered upon a war with the British, had they not been convinced that their powerful neighbours were meditating an invasion of

Ascendancy of the Khalsa Soldiery.

Causes of the War.

their own country and the destruction of their independence. This conviction was engendered by a series of unwise acts on the part of the British. They were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Sutlej. Troops in Sind were kept in readiness for a march towards Multan and the various garrisons of the north-west districts were being gradually reinforced. All these were interpreted as signs of the impending invasion of the Punjab. And when the Lahore Durbar urged the Khalsa to avert that calamity, they readily responded and went forth to give battle to the prospective invaders on their own territory. The First Sikh War thus began. Four battles were fought. The first at Mudki, the second at Feroze Shah (Phirushahr), the third at Aliwal, and the fourth at Sobraon.

Mudki (1845):—The encounter at Mudki was sharp and bloody. The Sepoys and European soldiers reeled under the excellent fire and vigorous attack of the Sikh infantry. In the end, however, the Sikh army had to retreat with heavy loss, the defeat being due to the supineness of Lal Singh.

Feroze Shah (1845):—The English next attacked the Sikh entrenchments at Feroze Shah. The resistance was terrific and obstinate. Regiment after regiment of the British army staggered under the murderous fire of the Sikhs, and battalion after battalion was hurled back with heavy loss. But Tej Singh, the Sikh general, suddenly left the field, and the battle was lost. Under a better and braver leader the result might have been different.

Aliwal and Sobraon :—In 1846 the Sikhs again crossed the Sutlej under Ranjur Singh Majhithia and a brilliant action took place at Aliwal. But the Sikh army was again defeated. The main body of the Khalsa had entrenched itself at Sobraon. Under cover

of a fog the British army attacked the position and won a decisive victory. The defeat of the Sikhs was again due to the incomprehensible conduct of their commanders, with the honourable exception of Sham Singh Atariwala.

Treaties of Lahore and Amritsar (1846) :—The British army crossed the Sutlej by a bridge of boats. Lahore was occupied and a treaty was concluded at a public Durbar by which all the territories of the Sikh monarch on the left of the Sutlej together with the Jalandar Doab, an extensive tract between the Sutlej and the Beas, were to become British possessions. A war indemnity was to be paid, partly in cash and partly by the sale of the hill country of Kashmir and Jammu. The Sikh army was reduced. Golab Singh, a Sardar serving the Lahore Durbar, purchased Kashmir ; and a separate treaty was made with him at Amritsar which secured to him and his heirs the government of the province he had purchased. A new treaty was afterwards made with the Lahore Durbar, requiring it to retain a body of British troops and setting up a council of Regency under the virtual dictatorship of a British Resident.

Golab Singh.

Treaty of Bhyrowal.

Council of Regency.

Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) :—Lord Hardinge was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie in 1848. The administration of the latter may be reviewed under the following heads—(i) military conquests ; (ii) annexations by the doctrine of lapse ; (iii) acquisitions of territory otherwise than by lapse or conquest ; and (iv) internal reforms.

Under the first head fall the Second Sikh War (1848-49) and the Second Burmese War (1852).

The Second Sikh War :—The Sikhs chafed under British ascendancy in the Punjab. Though their army had been vanquished, they had never felt subdued. They thought that they had been ill served by their chiefs who were now reaping the reward of their perfidy. Their discontent became all the more intense

Causes of the War.

on account of the treatment meted out to the Queen Mother. The combined effect of all these was to keep alive the embers of disaffection that could burst out at any moment into a mighty flame. The blaze occurred sooner than many people expected. Mulraj, Governor of Multan, had been called upon to pay large sums of money on succeeding to his office. He resigned his appointment in anger. The resignation was accepted by the Lahore Darbar. When his successor, Khan Singh arrived with two English officers at Multan, the latter were killed. Mulraj was probably implicated in this act. Raja Sher Singh was ordered by the Lahore authorities to advance towards Multan but he joined the insurgents. On account of the activities of Maharani Jindan, the whole of the Punjab became a scene of covert disaffection, and the veteran Sikh soldiers began to assemble on all sides. The Sikhs were joined by their old enemies, the Afghans, whose support was purchased by the offer of Peshawar.

Mulraj.

Rani Jindan.

In October 1848, Lord Dalhousie declared, "the Sikh nation has called for war, and they shall have it with a vengeance". An English army under Lord Gough crossed the Ravi and found Sher Singh encamped at Ramnagar where an indecisive engagement took place. Sher Singh retired to a stronger position at Chilianwala with guns and equipments unmolested. Here a terrible battle was fought (January 13, 1849). The British lost 2,400 officers and men, besides four guns and the colours of three regiments. They were more fortunate at Multan, which was stormed on January 22, 1849. Shortly afterwards, Lord Gough advanced upon the Sikh position at Gujarat (February 21, 1849). The Sikh Army was totally defeated. On March 12, Sher Singh laid down his arms, and his example was followed by the rest of the army. On March 29, Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab by

Battle of Chilianwala.

Fall of Multan.

Battle of Gujarat.

The Punjab Annexed.

a proclamation. Dalip Singh, who suffered for the sins of others, was granted a pension of five lakhs of rupees a year.

The Second Burmese War (1852):—British merchants complained of oppression at the hands of Burmese officials. British representatives were subjected to gross insults. In 1851 the government of Lord Dalhousie determined to interfere. A frigate was sent under Commodore Lambert to demand satisfaction from the Government of Burma. Lambert declared the port of Rangoon to be in a state of blockade and seized one of the King's ships. The action was answered by a shower of bullets on the frigate from the Burmese batteries. The war that followed was short but decisive. Under the guidance of the Governor-General himself, the errors of the First Burmese War were avoided. Martaban fell. The Great Pagoda of Rangoon was stormed. Bassein, Prome and Pegu were occupied in quick succession. The Burmese Government refused to make a formal treaty, whereupon Pegu was annexed by a proclamation. The annexation of Pegu carried the eastern limits of the Indian Empire to the banks of the Salween and converted the Bay of Bengal into a British lake. The eastern frontier of India was now effectively protected against external aggression.

Activities of Lambert.

Lower Burma Annexed.

Annexations by 'Lapse':—Lord Dalhousie swept away a large number of protected States by peaceful annexation, in pursuance of what is known as the doctrine of lapse, which was the practical application of his guiding principle that "the good of the governed" required the substitution of British rule for the "misrule" of Indian princes. The doctrine denied to the rulers of dependent principalities created by the British government the right to adopt sons, and held that in case of failure of natural heirs the sovereignty lapsed

to the paramount power. The States annexed in accordance with this doctrine were Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur and several others. The principle was also invoked to discontinue the pensions and titles of the ex-rulers of the Carnatic and Tanjore. In the case of Nana Sahib, it was pointed out that the pension granted to his adoptive father Baji Rao II was a personal allowance, which would not pass on to his successor. The question of "lapse", therefore, did not arise.

Case of Nana Sahib.

The Maxim of "the Good of the Governed" :— Acquisitions of territory by conquest and lapse do not exhaust the whole list of Dalhousie's annexations. In many cases he appealed only to the maxim of "the good of the governed" without any reference to the question of adoption and lapse. British rule, in his opinion, was better for the people than native administration. Therefore, he never let slip an opportunity of putting an end to "administrations fraught with suffering to millions". Thus, he annexed Oudh in 1856 in consequence of the continuous misgovernment of the State by its ruling chiefs. Wazid Ali Shah, the last Nawab, was deported to Calcutta and allowed a pension of twelve lakhs a year.

Annexation of Oudh.

Sikkim, Sambhalpur and Berar :—Part of Sikkim was taken over in 1850 as a penalty for the chief's illtreatment of two British subjects. Sambhalpur in Orissa was added to the British dominions on failure of an heir. The Nizam of Hyderabad in the Deccan was often irregular in paying the money he owed to the Company for maintaining a British contingent in his State. An agreement was made in 1853 by which the province of Berar was handed over to the British Government in lieu of the subsidy.

Berar Assigned.

Internal Administration :—Great as an organiser of military campaigns, Lord Dalhousie was equally great as an administrator. He abolished antiquated

rules of procedure and organised the different branches of administration on a more sensible basis. He created a department of Public Works with a view to developing the resources of the country by a network of roads, railways, and irrigation canals. He opened the first Indian railway and brought to completion the Ganges canal. He promoted steam communication with Britain *via* the Red Sea, and introduced a cheap and uniform postage and the electric telegraph. He passed acts permitting the remarriage of Hindu widows, whose cause had been taken up by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He relieved all persons from the fear of forfeiting property by a change of religion. The provincial government of Bengal was placed in the hands of a Lieutenant-Governor. The famous education despatch sent out by Sir Charles Wood in 1854, which sketched in outline a complete scheme of public education, accorded with the ideas of the Governor-General. During his tenure of office, the Charter of the Company was renewed for the last time in 1853. The number of directors was reduced, the system of benevolent nepotism was abolished, and the covenanted civil service was thrown open to competition.

Public Works.

Cheap Postage and Telegraph.

Education Despatch of 1854.

Charter of 1853.

Review of Lord Dalhousie's Administration :— Lord Dalhousie was one of the greatest of the British rulers in India. He was a great organiser of victory, and he "completed the fabric of British rule in India". The measures he took to improve the system of administration and promote the material welfare of the people deserve commendation. He was, however, a man of imperious will, somewhat intolerant of ideas differing from his own. In carrying out his annexations he seldom made any concession to the susceptibilities of the feudatory princes, and he cannot be altogether absolved from responsibility for the terrible upheaval in the time of his successor.

Lord Canning (1856-62) :—Lord Dalhousie was succeeded by Lord Canning, son of George Canning, the great statesman who presided over the destinies of England as prime minister in 1827.



Lord Canning

Foundation of Universities.

The new Governor-General was a man of peace, and one of his earliest acts was the establishment of universities in the great presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay (1857). The influence exercised by these centres of learning has been profound. They heralded the birth of a new India—an India "nourished on the study of the Whig and Radical philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries". Meanwhile the old India was seething with discontent. A storm burst that shook the empire to its foundations, and threatened to overwhelm the mighty fabric reared by Warren Hastings and his successors. This was the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-59.

Causes of the Mutiny :—The causes that led

Political Causes.

up to the rising were many. Dalhousie's annexation policy, the doctrine of escheat and lapse, and the contemplated removal of the descendants of the "Great Mogul" from their ancestral palace, had made many of the old ruling houses sullen and discontented. This was particularly the case in Oudh, which furnished large contingents to the Sepoy army. The spread of

British rule was narrowing the field in which members of the Indian aristocracy could win their spurs. Conservative Indians, from whose ranks the high-caste Bengal Sepoys were mainly recruited, saw in the reforms and innovations introduced by the British Government an attempt to westernise this ancient land of theirs, and convert the people to the faith of their rulers. The loyalty of the Sepoy army had been sorely tried by prolonged campaigns in countries and lands outside the limits of the holy Aryavarta. Rumours of Russian deeds of valour in the Crimean war, the reduction in the number of European officers and men and the lack of discipline that manifested itself at the time, encouraged the Sepoys to think that the authority of their masters might be challenged with impunity. Lastly, the introduction of the Enfield rifle, the cartridges for which were greased with animal fat, set the spark that kindled the embers of discontent. The whole country from the Sutlej to the Narmada was ablaze.

Social and Religious Causes.

Military Causes.

The "Greased Cartridges".

The Character of the Sepoy War :—The mutiny was in the main a military revolt. It is only in Oudh and Rohilkhand that it acquired the character of a national rising. The mutineers produced no leader of outstanding ability. There was very little cohesion or unity of purpose among the various insurgent groups and they "often took the one course that was foredoomed to failure". It is only in Central India that we find any trace of generalship and military skill, and the most heroic figure on the side of the rebels was the Rani of Jhansi.

The Rani of Jhansi.

The Outbreak :—The first signs of unrest manifested themselves at Barrackpore. But the decisive movement occurred at Meerut on May 10, 1857. The Sepoys broke out into open mutiny, cut down their officers, swarmed into the jail, slew a few Europeans

and then rushed to Delhi. The Muhammadans of the old imperial city joined the insurgents and the titular king Bahadur Shah II was proclaimed emperor of Hindusthan.

The Area Affected :—The flame of revolt soon spread to nearly all the upper Gangetic provinces and parts of Central India. It raged most furiously round the cities of Delhi, Cawnpur and Lucknow. India south of the Narmada remained on the whole unaffected, while the Punjab and particularly the Sikh chiefs of the province, were kept quiet by Sir John Lawrence and his lieutenants. A wider conflagration was prevented by the efforts of three Indians, namely, Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior, Sir Salar Jang of Haidarabad and Sir Jang Bahadur of Nepal.

Loyalty of the Sikhs and Gurkhas.

Cawnpur :—At Bithur near Cawnpur lived Nana Saheb, heir of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II. He placed himself at the head of the Cawnpur insurgents, proclaimed himself Peshwa, and invested the British lines in the city. The garrison surrendered on assurances of safe conduct to Allahabad. But as they were leaving the place in boats, a murderous fire was opened upon them. The men were nearly all killed and the women and children made prisoners. An avenging army soon arrived under Neill and Havelock. But they came too late to save the prisoners, who had been butchered and whose bodies had been flung into a well.

Delhi :—The recovery of the old imperial city, the great rallying centre of the rebels, was considered to be essential to break the back of the insurrection. A British force from Ambala took up a position upon the ridge overlooking the city. Reinforcements were sent by Lawrence from the Punjab. These included a number of Sikhs and an intrepid officer named Nicholson. Under Nicholson's leadership a vigorous

assault was delivered. The Kashmir gate was blown in and the city stormed. Nicholson fell in the fight. The titular king, together with his sons and a grandson, was hunted out by Hodson, a fierce leader of irregular horse, who shot the princes with his own hand. The king was sent to Rangoon, where he ended his days in exile.

Lucknow :—At Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence held out for some time in the Residency, but was mortally wounded by a shell. Shortly afterwards, Havelock and Outram undertook the task of relieving the city, and fought their way at the point of the bayonet into the Residency. But they could not take the garrison out for the mutineers hemmed them in on all sides.

Tantia Topi and the Campaign in Central India: —Meanwhile the southern insurgents found a leader of ability in Tantia Topi, who advanced from Kalpi and defeated general Windham, who was in charge of Cawnpur. Tantia was, however, driven out by Sir Colin Campbell. He then joined the Rani of Jhansi and carried on an obstinate warfare in Central India. Sir Hugh Rose defeated him at the battle of the Betwa and stormed Jhansi. The Rani and Tantia then marched to Gwalior. The Maharaja of Gwalior was loyal to the British, but his army joined the insurgents. Rose lost no time in flinging his troops on Gwalior and defeating the rebels in two battles, in one of which the Rani fell fighting bravely at the head of her troops, like another Durgavati (June 1858). In the following year (April 1859), Tantia was betrayed into the hands of the British and executed. Nana Saheb was driven into the jungles of Nepal and was never seen again in British territory.

Death of the Rani of Jhansi.

Pacification of Oudh and Rohilkhand :—Sir Colin Campbell undertook the task of stamping out the

conflagration in Oudh and Rohilkhand. He received valuable help from Sir Jang Bahadur of Nepal at the head of his valiant Gurkhas. Lucknow was finally occupied in March 1858. A guerilla warfare was, however, carried on by the Taluqdars. But the fall of Bareilly in Rohilkhand in June virtually ended the struggle in the north. On July 8, 1859 peace was proclaimed throughout India.

End of the Company:—The Mutiny sealed the fate of the Company. The British people thought that it would be unwise to leave the administration of a vast country like India in the hands of a private corporation. It was decided that the Government should be transferred directly to the Crown. Accordingly, before peace was formally declared, an act for the better government of India was passed by Parliament in 1858, which effected the change that was contemplated. "It enacts that India shall be governed by, and in the name of, the Sovereign through one of the principal Secretaries of State, assisted by a council of fifteen members. At the same time the Governor-General received the new title of Viceroy". The change was more formal than substantial, because the actual power was exercised under the Company by the president of the Board of Control who was a minister of the Crown.

Act of 1858.

India Placed under the Crown.

The Viceroy.



Queen Victoria

The Queen's Proclamation, November 1, 1858: —Lord Canning held a grand Darbar at Allahabad and published the Queen's proclamation, which announced that the Sovereign of Great Britain had assumed the government of India. The document has rightly been called the Magna Carta of the Indian people. It proclaimed a policy of justice, benevolence and toleration, confirmed the treaties and engagements made with the Indian princes, disclaimed all desire for an extension of territory, and promised to throw open all offices to subjects irrespective of colour or creed. It also granted an amnesty to all who had not been guilty of murder of British subjects.

BOOK VI

MODERN INDIA

CHAPTER XXXIV

RECONSTRUCTION AND IMPERIALISM (1858—1880)

General Character of the Period: :—The first twenty-two years of Crown control may be described as the period of reconstruction and imperialism. The Mutiny storm had subsided, and steps were now taken "to stimulate the peaceful industry of India", and to ensure her protection from external invasions. The latter half of the period saw an attempt to establish close personal relations between the royal family of Great Britain and the princes and people of India—to "incorporate the feudatory chiefs and ruling houses into the empire of an ancient and splendid dynasty". Unfortunately, while great measures of administrative and financial reform were in progress, the shadow of famine darkened the face of India. The exertions of the Government and of individuals to alleviate the misery of the people were not always successful and there was a large and lamentable loss of life.

Peaceful Administration.

Famine.

Canning as Viceroy (1858-62) :—Canning had to face "the fiercest storm that had ever broke over the English power" in India. In dealing with it he showed on the whole a cool courage and an unruffled temper that gained him success in the end. Angry partisans scoffed at him as "Clemency Canning". But the epithet is remembered by posterity to the honour of the ruler who "refused to govern in anger".

"Clemency Canning".

Peace :—Canning's first few months of office as Viceroy were spent in completing the work of pacification. He assured the princes and chiefs of India that the policy of escheat or lapse was at an end and that the British Government had no intention of annexing their territories.

Abolition of "Lapse".

Army Changes :—One of the first fruits of the Mutiny was the reorganisation of the Indian army. The proportion of British troops was raised, and the artillery was put in the exclusive charge of Europeans. The Indian navy was abolished.

Internal Administration :—A series of administrative measures were now undertaken to ensure good government. In 1859 a Rent Act was passed, which gave the ryots some protection against the exactions of their landlords. Attempts were made to check the abuses of indigo-planting in Bengal to which pointed attention had been drawn by the *Nila-Darpana* of Dinabandhu Mitra. Codes of law originally drafted by Macaulay came into force in the years 1859—61. The most important was the Penal Code, enacted in 1860, which gave India a comprehensive system of criminal law. In the next year the old Supreme Courts and the Sadar Adalats were amalgamated into the High Courts of Judicature stationed at the presidency towns. The Indian Councils Act of the same year provided for the nomination of non-official members to the existing councils when those bodies met for legislative purposes. Another measure of importance was the Indian Civil Service Act, which reserved certain appointments for the civil service of India.

Rent Act.

Tyranny of Indigo-planters.

Legal Reforms.

High Courts.

Councils Act of 1861.

The Mutiny and the military changes that followed it created a large deficit in the annual budget. To restore public credit, Wilson, the first and greatest British minister of finance in India, proposed a series

Financial Reforms.

of measures, the most important of which was the income-tax. His work was carried on by Laing, who established a paper currency.

Famine of 1861.

The prosperity of India was, however, checked by a grievous famine, which devastated portions of northern and western India, particularly the region between the Jumna and the Sutlej (1861).

Literary Activity in Bengal:—The period of Canning and his immediate successors is one of great intellectual activity in Bengal. Reference has been made to the *Nila-Darpana,* the famous drama of Dinabandhu Mitra. In the *Navina Tapasvini* the same writer referred to the rigours of the salt monopoly. Bengali poetry was enriched by the works of Madhusudan Dutta, whose fame overshadowed that of Isvara Gupta, an earlier author who died about this time. In 1864 appeared the *Durgesanandini* of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, which ushered in a new epoch in Bengali fiction.

Lord Elgin (1862-63):—Lord Canning was succeeded by Lord Elgin, who had won distinction as Governor-General of Canada and plenipotentiary in China. The new Viceroy had a very brief tenure of office and shortly after his arrival died at Dharmsala in the Himalayas. Two acting officers, Napier and Denison, carried on the government pending the arrival of a permanent incumbent. The only event of note during the brief administration of Elgin and Denison was the "Umbeyla campaign" against the Wahabis of the north-west Frontier. Vigorous measures were taken against these tribesmen, and their stronghold of Malka was destroyed.

Umbeyla Campaign.

Sir John Lawrence (1864-69):—Sir John Lawrence, who had distinguished himself by his administration of the Punjab during the Mutiny,

succeeded Lord Elgin as Viceroy in 1864. He carried on the work of reconstruction begun by Canning and set forth a programme of peaceful administration.

Masterly Inactivity :—In regard to Afghan affairs, he followed a policy of "masterly inactivity" and refused to interfere in the fratricidal war that was going on in Kabul after the death of Dost Muhammad in 1863. When Sher Ali, the favourite son of the late Amir, got the upper hand, he was acknowledged by the Viceroy.

Bhutan War :—An exception to the policy of "masterly inactivity" was the Bhutan war of 1864. The Bhutanese are a hill-folk in the Eastern Himalayas. They raided the British territories in North Bengal and Assam and insulted a British envoy. The Government of India sent a punitive expedition. The war that followed was badly conducted, and the Bhutanese obtained a brilliant success at Dewangiri. Peace was, however, concluded in 1865. The Bhutanese had to cede the Duars in return for an annual subsidy. **Battle of Dewangiri.**

Famine and Internal Administration :—The internal administration of Lawrence was overshadowed by the Orissa famine of 1866 and a later famine in Bundelkhand and Rajputana in 1868-69. Adequate relief could not be given to the people of Orissa, and more than a million of people perished in that hapless province. In the second famine, however, remedial measures were more effective. To cope with similar calamities in future, Lawrence created a department of irrigation and laid down the principle that the officers of the Government would be held responsible for protecting the people from starvation. **Orissa Famine of 1866.** **Irrigation.**

Credit is due to the Viceroy for the establishment of the College of Civil Engineers at Rurki and for passing an act in 1866 for the protection of tenants in Oudh against the powerful Taluqdars.

Deplorable Finance.

The finances of India under Lawrence were in a deplorable condition. The American Civil War produced an artificial demand for Indian cotton ; but when peace came there was a commercial crash involving the ruin of many firms and banks. When Lawrence retired from office in 1869, he left a large deficit.

Lord Mayo (1869-72) :—Lord Mayo, a member of the Conservative Government in England, was chosen Viceroy by Disraeli, premier of England ; and the appointment was ratified by Gladstone, his Liberal successor, who thereby established the principle that the ablest man would be selected for the post without reference to the trend of party politics in Britain.

Ambala Durbar.

Foreign Relations :—One of the earliest acts of the new Viceroy was to hold the Ambala Durbar, at which he gave a hearty welcome to Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan. The personal charm of Lord Mayo endeared him to the Indian princes and enabled him to interfere judiciously in the affairs of Alwar and certain petty states of Kathiawar. He was anxious to give a liberal education to the sons of chiefs and nobles, and, with this end in view, laid the foundation of the Mayo College at Ajmer which was, however, not actually opened till after his death.

Mayo College.

The Suez Canal and the Visit of a British Prince: —The year 1869 is memorable for two events which brought Britain and India nearer to each other. The opening of the Suez Canal shortened the distance between the two countries, while the visit of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh tended to strengthen the bond between India and the royal family of Great Britain.

Internal Administration :—Lord Mayo is chiefly remembered for his financial reforms. He attained what was called "the proper equilibrium of revenue and expenditure" by enhancing the income and salt taxes.

He introduced the system of provincial contracts by which a fixed grant was made to the provincial governments from the imperial treasury and the latter were made responsible for their own finance within certain limits. The policy of decentralisation thus initiated was continued by Lytton and further developed by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Mayo created an agricultural department and favoured the extension of roads, railways, and canals. The first regular census of Bengal was taken in his time. Lord Mayo's career was cut short by a frontier Pathan in the penal settlement of the Andaman Islands in 1872.

Provincial Contracts.

Assassination of Mayo.

Lord Northbrook (1872-76) :—Two acting officers, Strachey and Napier, carried on the administration till the arrival of Northbrook in 1872. The new Viceroy was a shrewd man of business, but he lacked his predecessor's capacity for winning friends among the princes. His refusal to give Sher Ali assurance of protection cost him the friendship of Afghanistan. His relations with an important Indian state were also far from happy. In 1875 Malhar Rao, the Gaikwad of Baroda, was brought to trial before a mixed commission of Indians and Europeans for maladministration and attempted murder of the Resident. The Indian members of the commission found the prince "not guilty". Thereupon the British government, without a definite pronouncement as to his guilt, deposed the Gaikwad for misgovernment and installed in his place a child, named Sayaji Rao, a distant relative of the family. The boy-ruler grew to be one of the most enlightened princes of modern India.

Foreign Relations.

Deposition of the Gaikwad.

In 1875-76 His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) paid a visit to India and was received with rejoicings.

Visit of the Prince of Wales.

Internal Affairs :—Shortly after the arrival of Northbrook, Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor

of Bengal, brought forward a bill for setting up rural municipalities; but it was vetoed by the Viceroy. Lord Northbrook distinguished himself in the domain of finance. He pursued a policy of Free Trade with discrimination. He lowered the import duties on foreign goods to a considerable extent and abolished many export duties. He, however, resolutely refused to allow "the interest of Lancashire to override those of India" by the abolition of the duty on Manchester cotton goods. His remission of the income tax instead of the salt tax laid him open to the charge of favouring the rich traders rather than the poor peasants.

Free Trade.

Famine in Bihar.

In 1873-74 a famine that threatened Bihar and Bengal was forestalled by prompt and vigorous measures of relief.

Lord Lytton (1876-80) :—Lord Northbrook did not get on well with the Conservative government in England and retired in 1876. Lord Lytton was chosen to succeed him by Beaconsfield (Disraeli), the premier.

Imperialism :—The new Viceroy carried out the policy of imperialism that found favour with the leaders of his party. In 1876 Beaconsfield passed an act conferring on the British Sovereign the title of Kaisar-i-Hind (Empress of India). One of the first acts of Lord Lytton was to proclaim the new imperial title at a magnificent Durbar held in 1877 at Delhi, once the proud capital of the "Great Mogul". The Indian princes were required to do homage to Her Majesty's Viceroy. They were thus "incorporated into the empire" of Great Britain.

Royal Titles Act.

Delhi Durbar, 1877.

The Famine of 1877-78 :—The pomp and splendour displayed at Delhi were darkened by the shadow of a great calamity. A terrible famine broke out in Southern India, the like of which had not been seen before. Owing to mismanagement, particularly of the Madras Government, the death-roll rose to five millions and a quarter. In 1878 Lord Lytton appointed a

Famine Commission to suggest means by which similar calamities might be prevented and assuaged. The Commission submitted its report in 1880; and its recommendations form the basis of the existing sytem of famine relief.

Finance and Free Trade:—The Government of Lord Lytton resolved to make India "a great free port open to the commerce of the world". Strachey, the Finance Member, swept away the customs lines that, it was urged, "strangled the trade" between one part of India and another and remitted duties on many commodities. The duties on the coarser kind of cotton cloth were removed by the overruling authority of the Viceroy himself. The scheme for the decentralisation of finance initiated by Lord Mayo was carried on further in 1877, when certain heads of income and expenditure were made over to the provincial governments. The war estimates prepared by the Military Department were, however, not properly checked, and the lack of vigilance in the matter cost the Indian exchequer fifteen millions.

Abolition of Customs Hedge.

Measures of Repression and Conciliation:—In 1878 Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act to check what was described as the seditious tone of newspapers written in Oriental languages. An Arms Act forbade the carrying of arms without licence. In 1879 the Statutory Civil Service was created, to give some shadow of reality to the promise of the Charter Act of 1833, that no Indian shall by reason only of his nationality be disabled from holding any place or office. The system was abolished in 1891, and the provincial services were established.

Vernacular Press Act.

Statutory Civil Service.

The Second Afghan War (1878-80):—Lord Lytton was specially selected to deal with the danger threatening from the side of Russia and Afghanistan. Sher Ali, the Afghan Amir, had been estranged by the

cold demeanour of Lord Northbrook and had shown an inclination to take the side of Russia, which was fast spreading its influence in Central Asia. Lord Lytton, who chose to treat the Amir as an enemy, occupied Quetta in 1876 and indulged in plans for the creation of a protected state embracing Herat and Kandahar. Thoroughly dissatisfied with the British government, Sher Ali received a Russian envoy in 1878 and refused admittance to an English mission. War was declared. British armies advanced by three routes. The Amir fled to Afghan Turkistan where he died. His son, Yakub Khan, signed a treaty at Gandamak (1879), by which he agreed to accept British direction in matters of foreign policy, allowed the British to occupy the passes leading to Kabul and received a British resident at his Court. Within a few months, the envoy Sir Louis Cavagnari was murdered. War was renewed. General Roberts defeated the Afghans at Charasia, deported Yakub Khan, and severely punished the people of Kabul. Lord Lytton decided to disintegrate Afghanistan by establishing a chief at Kandahar. But a change of ministry in England, which resulted in the elevation of Gladstone, who disapproved of the Conservative policy in Afghanistan, compelled Lord Lytton to resign in 1880.

Occupation of Quetta.

Treaty of Gandamak.

Renewal of War.

CHAPTER XXXV

BEGINNINGS OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

Lord Ripon (1880-84) :—Lord Ripon, a true disciple of Gladstone, the leader of English liberals, with a firm belief in the efficacy of peace and self-government, succeeded Lord Lytton in 1880. Unlike his imperialist predecessor, who favoured a "forward policy" in the north-west and sought to enter into possession of a "scientific frontier", he was essentially a man of peace and set himself to the task of liberalising the Indian government. The movement of reform was inevitable. Educated in the Western mode of learning, and yearning for the free institutions of England, the Indian intelligentsia, a small but powerful section of the people, could not but claim a greater share in the administration of their own country. Associations had been organised by public-spirited Indians like Ram Gopal Ghosh, Haris Chandra Mukherjee, Ananda Mohan Bose, and Surendra Nath Banerjea in the time of Ripon's predecessors for the purpose of urging upon Government the aspirations of their countrymen. Lord Ripon showed sympathy for the feeling of the Indians and laid the foundation of those self-governing institutions,

Ripon's Liberal Policy.



Lord Ripon

The Indian Intelligentsia.

which were developed by Lord Morley and Mr. Montagu in the twentieth century.

End of Afghan War :—The new Viceroy had at first to devote his attention to Afghan affairs. The deportation of Yakub was followed in March 1880 by the capture of the Afghan throne by his capable cousin, Abdur Rahman, son of Afzal Khan, the eldest son of Dost Muhammad. One of the earliest acts of Lord Ripon was to come to terms with the new Amir. But he imposed two conditions on him, viz. that he was to have no political relation with any foreign power excepting the British and that the district of Pishin was to be surrendered to the latter. Meanwhile, a rival to the new Amir appeared in the person of Ayub Khan, a brother of Yakub Khan and a son of Sher Ali. Ayub Khan

Maiwand.

beat a British brigade at Maiwand between Kandahar and the Helmand river. But the defeat was retrieved by Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Roberts who marched from Kabul to Kandahar and routed the army

Results of the War.

of Ayub Khan outside the latter city. Ayub was finally crushed by Abdur Rahman, who became the undisputed master of Afghanistan. Lord Ripon now withdrew all British troops from the country.

The war, which cost so much in men and money, was not altogether barren of results. The Khan of Khelat passed under British protection and the province of British Baluchistan was formed. Quetta was permanently garrisoned, the use of the Bolan Pass was secured, and the apprehended Russian designs in Afghanistan were definitely checked.

Rendition of Mysore :—Ripon followed up the conclusion of peace with Afghanistan by an act of justice towards one of the leading states in India. In 1881, Mysore, which had been for fifty years under a

British Commission, was handed back to the Hindu ruling family.

Internal Affairs :—The measures that have made the administration of Ripon memorable relate to internal reform. To collect accurate information about the people and their social conditions, a general census was taken in 1881. An Act was passed in the same year to regulate and improve the condition of child labour in Indian factories. The interests of the agriculturists were not forgotten. The department of revenue and agriculture was reconstituted, and special attention was given to agricultural improvements and exhibitions of Indian produce. A Tenancy Bill was introduced to improve the lot of the ryots in Bengal. The measure was finally passed in the time of Lord Dufferin. In 1882, the reduction of the duty on salt benefited the poorer classes, while the abolition of import duties on cotton goods and the extinction of almost the whole tariff completed the Free Trade Policy inaugurated by Northbrook and developed by Lytton. In the same year the Vernacular Press Act was repealed, and newspapers written in Indian languages were allowed to discuss public questions freely. Important constitutional changes were now introduced, the professed aim of which was to give the people a training in self-government. By a series of Local Government Acts the elective principle already adopted in the municipal government of presidency towns received further extension. New urban and rural boards were created where they did not exist before. They were granted large powers of control over elementary education, sanitation, and the upkeep of roads. An Education Commission was appointed to encourage indigenous schools, promote primary education and provide for the instruction of backward communities. Finally, a bill was introduced to do away with race distinctions in the administration

Census. **Factory Act.** **Agricultural Improvement.** **Reduction of Salt duty.** **Free Trade.** **Freedom of the Press.** **Local Self-government.** **Hunter Commission.**

Ilbert Bill.

of criminal justice. This measure, known as the Ilbert Bill, was fiercely opposed by Europeans; and a compromise was arranged which granted to them the privilege of being tried by a Jury of their own race.

Ripon, a Friend of the People.

The Viceroy retired from office in 1884. The people of this country were not slow to express their gratitude for his services, and hundreds of addresses presented on the occasion testify to the popularity of Lord Ripon as Viceroy.

Lord Dufferin (1884-88) :—The successor of Lord Ripon was Lord Dufferin who had won his spurs in the diplomatic service and in the dominion of Canada.

Afghan Affairs :—Afghan affairs claimed his attention as early as 1885. A Boundary Commission was engaged, in concert with Russia, in delimiting the Afghan frontier on the Oxus. The Viceroy, anxious to strengthen the friendly relations with the Amir, received him at a great Durbar at Rawalpindi. At this moment a collision between Russian and Afghan troops at Panjdeh nearly precipitated war. But the calamity was averted by the good sense of the Amir.

The Panjdeh Incident.

The Third Burmese War (1885) :—Meanwhile trouble was brewing in the east. King Thibaw of Upper Burma was accused of oppressing British merchants and carrying on intrigues with the French. Failing to obtain the satisfaction he demanded, Lord Dufferin declared war. General Prendergast moved up the Irrawady and took Mandalay (1885).

The king surrendered and was deported to Ratnagiri. Upper Burma was annexed (1886). But operations had to be continued for some years against guerilla bands.

Gwalior :—A noteworthy event of the year 1886 was the restoration of Gwalior to the Maharaja Sindhia in exchange for Jhansi. This was meant to show the goodwill of the Government towards the loyal princes.

Internal Affairs :—The internal administration of Dufferin was marked by important measures of agrarian reform. Acts were passed giving the tenantry in Bengal, Oudh and the Punjab greater security of tenure. A Public Service Commission was appointed, which recommended the abolition of the statutory civil service and the creation of a provincial service to admit Indians more freely to administrative posts. The recommendations were adopted in 1891 in the time of Dufferin's successor.

Aitchison Commission.

Queen Victoria's Jubilee :—The Queen Empress completed the fiftieth year of her reign in 1887, and the jubilee was celebrated with great pomp throughout India. The occasion was marked by universal rejoicing.

The Congress Movement :—The year that witnessed the Panjdeh incident and the fall of the Burmese empire saw the birth of a new force in Indian politics. This was the Indian National Congress, which held its first session at Bombay in 1885 under the Presidency of W. C. Bonnerji. The Congress leaders drew attention to popular grievances and pressed for the introduction of representative institutions. Their influence has gradually permeated both the classes and the masses. Lord Dufferin sympathised with the aspirations of moderate Congressmen. In 1886, a Legislative Council was established in what is now the United Provinces. Other measures of reform were proposed, which were carried out in the time of his successor.

Lord Lansdowne (1888-94) :—The successor of the conqueror of Upper Burma was Lord Lansdowne who had, like some of his predecessors, won experience as Governor-General of Canada. The new Viceroy gave much attention to the problem of the frontiers. He was a firm believer in the doctrine of "the sphere of influence", according to which every great power is entitled to have outside its actual frontier a belt of

Forward Policy.

territory it does not administer but whose foreign relations it controls. As a consequence, he adopted a "forward policy" in regard to the frontier tribes. British influence spread over Sikkim, the Lushai Hills, the Chin Hills, and the Shan States.

Manipur :—An attempt was made to remove the *Senapati* of the State of Manipur, situated on the south-eastern border of Assam. Mr. Quinton, Chief Commissioner of Assam, was sent to arrange the matter, but he was murdered. Retribution was swift, and the little State was placed under a British political agent, who acted on behalf of a boy Raja.

Kashmir, Gilgit and Khelat.

Activities on the North-West Frontier:—In 1889 the Government of Kashmir was taken over. This was followed by the occupation of Hunza and Nagar in the Gilgit valley. The Khan of Khelat was about this time called upon to abdicate.

Durand Agreement.

British activities on the frontier alarmed Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan. He was, however, pacified by an agreement concluded by Sir Mortimer Durand in 1893, which demarcated the boundaries of Afghanistan and increased the subsidy paid to the Amir by the Indian Government. Chitral was placed within the British sphere of influence.

Imperial Service Troops :—The dreaded Russian menace led to the organisation under Lansdowne of the Imperial Service Troops. These are maintained by the Feudatory States to help the paramount power in the hour of its need.

Councils Act of 1892.

Constitutional and Social Reforms :—In 1892 Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India, passed an act which marked a remarkable advance on the Act of 1861. It increased the non-official element in the Legislative Councils and gave them some sort of a representative character by enabling some of the members to be elected by recognised public bodies.

It also gave them new powers of putting questions and discussing the budget.

Two other measures of reform demand notice. A Factory Act limited the hours of employment for women, and the Age of Consent Act sought to check the evils of infant marriage. **Factory Act. Age of Consent Act.**

The Fall in the Rupee :—The government of Lord Lansdowne was greatly embarrassed by a fall in the value of silver and the consequent decline in the exchange value of the rupee. As the Government received its income in silver, while it made payments in foreign countries in gold, it suffered an enormous loss. To remedy the evil, the Indian mints were closed in 1893 to the free coinage of silver, so that the rupees already current might acquire an increased value. **Closing of the Mint.**

Lord Elgin II (1894-99) :—Lord Lansdowne was succeeded by Lord Elgin, the son of the second Viceroy. To fill up the enormous deficit due to the fall in exchange, the Viceroy revived the import duties repealed by Ripon in 1882. At the same time an excise duty was imposed on the products of Indian mills, thus placing them under a heavy disadvantage in their competition with Lancashire. **Taxation.** The trade in opium yielded a large revenue. An agitation for its suppression led to the appointment of an Opium Commission in 1895. But the policy of gradual abolition of this 'immoral traffic' was not adopted till 1908. **Opium.**

In 1895 the presidency system of three separate armies was abolished, and the whole force was placed under one commander-in-chief. **Army Reorganisation.**

Foreign Affairs :—In the same year the southern boundary of the Russian empire was fixed at the Oxus by the Pamir Agreement.

The tribesmen on the north-west looked with suspicion on the steady extension of the British sphere

of influence. A number of local chiefs besieged the British agent at Chitral. He had to be rescued, and Chitral was turned into a fortified outpost of the empire. In 1897 nearly the whole frontier was ablaze. The Wazirs, Swatis, and Afridis attacked the British positions in the Tochi Valley, Malkand and other places, and closed the Khyber Pass. A large expedition was sent to the Tirah plateau. Severe fighting was necessary before peace could be established in 1898.

Chitral.

The Tirah Campaign.

Plague and Famine :—While the frontier was distracted by war, pestilence and famine broke out in the interior, and an earthquake completed the catalogue of sorrows of the people. The bubonic plague appeared in Bombay in 1896 and soon spread to Calcutta and other places. The measures taken by the Government to check the progress of the disease excited angry feeling in the Bombay presidency, and popular agitation against the segregation camps was so acute that it had to be met by exceptional legislation.

Plague.

A terrible famine broke out in 1896-97, affecting nearly seventy-four million people, particularly in the Eastern Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bihar. The measures adopted to cope with the calamity were not very effective in the Central Provinces. But the labours of Sir Antony MacDonnell bore some fruit in the United Provinces. A Commission was again appointed to discuss the principles of relief.

Diamond Jubilee :—The Queen Empress completed the sixtieth year of her reign, and her Diamond Jubilee was celebrated in 1897.

CHAPTER XXXVI

CURRENT TIMES AND CURRENT EVENTS

Lord Curzon (1899-1905) :—Lord Curzon of Kedleston succeeded Lord Elgin II. Though Lord Curzon is no more, many of his colleagues and successors are still alive; and the proper time for appraising their work has hardly arrived as yet. But just as the present is deeply embedded in the past, even so the future is firmly founded on the present; and the events of to-day form the history of to-morrow. They have, therefore, to be faithfully recorded and carefully studied.



Lord Curzon

Lord Curzon of Kedleston came to India with a brilliant academic and political record. Few of his contemporaries could claim his wonderful industry and uncommon application; and he can be rightly regarded as a political disciple of Dalhousie. He created the North-West Frontier Province for the better defence of that troublesome area. He did his best to maintain British influence in Persia, and sent an expensive expedition to Tibet, which easily penetrated Lhasa. Spectacular effect it certainly had; and Curzon could claim the credit of "unveiling Lhasa"; but its political results are more than doubtful. In this connexion a great Bengalee scholar and explorer deserves mention. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, C. I. E. was one of

North-West Frontier Province.

Tibet Expedition.

Sarat Chandra Das.

those rare spirits for whom the unknown has no terror ; and he entered the forbidden country of the Dalai Lama at the risk of his life long before Colonel Francis Younghusband led his army across the Himalayas.

Relations with Feudatory States :—Lord Curzon established the Imperial Cadet Corps to give a military education to the sons of Indian Princes. In 1902 he obtained from the Nizam a perpetual lease of the Assigned Districts of Berar.

Imperial Cadet Corps.

Berar.

Sundry Administrative Acts :—Measures were adopted to relieve the distress of the people in the terrible famine of 1899-1900. The reforming energy of the Viceroy extended to various branches of administration. By the Punjab Land Alienation Act he, it is said, sought to free the tillers of the soil from the clutches of money-lenders. Agricultural banks or co-operative credit societies were established in 1904 to promote self-reliance and thrift. A new department of Commerce and Industry was created. The Police service was thoroughly overhauled and reforms were introduced.

Famine.

The Punjab Land Alienation Act.

Co-operative Credit Societies.

Commerce and Industry.

The Police.

Of Curzon's financial measures, the most important were the reduction of the salt tax and the revision of the scale of taxable income. The salt tax touched the poorest pocket ; the less well-to-do people of the middle class had under the old system also to pay the income tax. The new financial policy was therefore extremely popular.

Salt tax.

Income tax.

Early in 1901 the great Queen Victoria passed away. Her death was universally mourned by her Indian subjects, and their grief was genuine and sincere. She had been to them not merely the ruler of their land but the sovereign of their heart. She was succeeded by her eldest son Edward VII and a Coronation Durbar was held at Delhi in 1903. This afforded Lord Curzon a magnificent opportunity for expensive display, which

Death of Queen Victoria.

Coronation Durbar of 1903.

evoked considerable criticism, for the country had passed through a severe famine shortly before.

The Indian Universities Act of 1904.

The Universities Act of 1904 alienated the intelligentsia of the country. Their opposition was by no means unreasonable or perverse, for the new Act apparently aimed at official control of the Indian Universities. But it was not without its good points. Although Sir Asutosh Mookerjee opposed it very strenuously, the Indian Universities Act enabled him to build up the present teaching University of Calcutta. But Curzon's Act has now become completely obsolete and has been revised and modified except in the solitary case of the Calcutta University.

Partition of Bengal.

The partition of Bengal was another of Curzon's unwise measures. He had a knack for unnecessarily hurting public feelings. When he questioned the veracity of his audience and their ancestors in his imprudent Convocation address, they naturally felt bitterly offended. When Curzon partitioned Bengal on the plea of administrative difficulties, the Bengalee intelligentsia very naturally attributed to the Viceroy the unworthy motive of impairing their national solidarity. In one respect their fears were justified, as from the partition of Bengal dates the bitter misunderstanding between the two principal communities of the country. It also marks an epoch in the history of Indian nationalism, which found its ablest exponents in Surendra Nath Banerjea, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Curzon refused to yield to public opinion, and the nationalists of Bengal boycotted British goods. In the Congress of 1906 Dadabhai Naoroji formulated the new demand for Indian *Swaraj*. For the first time the political classes of India boldly enunciated their claims ; and when constitutional agitation had not the expected result, an extremely small

Growth of Nationalism.

Party of Violence. band of revolutionaries resorted to illegal methods of violence and assassination.

Ancient Monuments. In justice to Curzon, it must be admitted that all his measures were not so unpopular. The Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments met with the unanimous approval of all parties. The Viceroy took vigorous measures to protect the people from military arrogance. In 1904 Curzon went home at the expiry of the normal term of his Viceroyalty. He was given an extension and came back to resume office. Meanwhile, **Lord Ampthill.** Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras, officiated for him. But Curzon resigned before long, owing to a difference with Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief, over relations between the civil and the military. **Resignation of Curzon.** The home government supported the latter. On this occasion Curzon was right.

Lord Minto II (1905-10) :—Curzon was succeeded by Lord Minto, great-grandson of a former Governor-General of that name. Lord Minto was an unostentatious soldier, and he inherited many political troubles from his predecessors. He passed some unpopular laws to deal with the prevailing discontent, but his viceroyalty is best known for the constitutional reforms that it witnessed. **Morley-Minto Reforms.** They formed a concession to the rising spirit of nationalism and the growing demand for self-government. The imperial and the provincial legislatures were considerably enlarged and the number of non-official members with new privileges increased. An Indian was appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the first to attain that honour was Sir Satyendra Prasanna, afterwards Lord Sinha of Raipur. **Lord Sinha of Raipur.** An Indian member was added to each of the provincial executive councils. But the reforms did not come up to popular expectations, and discontent continued unabated.

Lord Hardinge II (1910-16):—In 1910 Lord Hardinge, grandson of the ruler who conducted the first Sikh war, succeeded Lord Minto. Edward VII, the King-Emperor, passed away after a short illness. He did not reign long enough to attain the prestige of his illustrious mother ; but he had visited India as Prince of Wales and was immensely popular. In 1911 Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary visited India, being the first British sovereigns to do so. Lord Hardinge took this unique opportunity of conciliating the discontented people in India. As a royal boon the unpopular partition of Bengal was revised, but at the same time to remove administrative difficulties the new province of Bihar and Orissa was created and the Chief Commissionership of Assam was revived. The seat of the Central Government was removed to Delhi. A grant was made for education, and Indians were made eligible for the Victoria Cross. These important announcements were made at a grand Durbar held at Delhi. When the Great War broke out India stood loyally by Britain and did not spare men or money in the support of her cause. Even people of the so-called non-martial races eagerly enlisted in the army ; and Indian forces served in France and Flanders, in Mesopotamia and Palestine, in China and East Africa. Lord Hardinge had great confidence in the people of India and practically denuded the country of its regular army ; but the result fully justified his confidence.

Death of Edward VII.

The Emperor's Visit to India.

The Partition of Bengal Revised.

The Great World War.

Lord Chelmsford (1916-21):—The first important act of the next Viceroy was the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission with Dr. (now Sir Michael) Sadler as President, of which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a leading spirit. The University of Calcutta came into existence in 1857. It was originally an examining and affiliating institution. But Lord

Calcutta University Commission.

Curzon's Act of 1904 afforded Sir Asutosh, the greatest Vice-Chancellor that the University ever had, an opportunity to create a teaching department. Other Indian Universities followed this example ; and the Government



Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

decided to make a sifting inquiry into the University and its needs. The Commissioners produced a voluminous report. Their recommendations are, with a few minor exceptions, unanimous ; but Calcutta has hitherto

derived no advantage from the labours of the Commission appointed for its special benefit.

State of the Country : Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms:—The war services of India were widely recognised in Britain. The king's commission was granted to certain Indian military officers and Indian gallantry was rewarded with the Victoria Cross. Two Indians took part in the imperial war conference, and later India became a member of the League of Nations. Mr. E. S. Montagu, the British Secretary of State for India, was a man of imagination ; he made an important announcement which evoked high hopes among Indian politicians. But a new repressive measure, popularly known as the Rowlatt Act, revived popular suspicion ; and when the Punjab disturbances were quelled by unprecedented high-handedness, the country seethed with discontent. At this critical moment, the third Afghan war broke out ; but it did not last long, and the treaty of Rawalpindi was signed soon afterwards. In 1920 the Khilafat Movement was started in protest against the ungenerous treatment accorded to Turkey by the victorious allies ; and Mahatma Gandhi started the Non-Co-operation Movement in protest against the Jallianwalla Bagh (in Amritsar) shooting. It was under these adverse circumstances that the new Reforms were inaugurated.



E. S. Montagu

Post War Hopes and Expectations.

Rowlatt Act.

The Punjab Disturbances.

The Third Afghan War.

The Khilafat Movement.

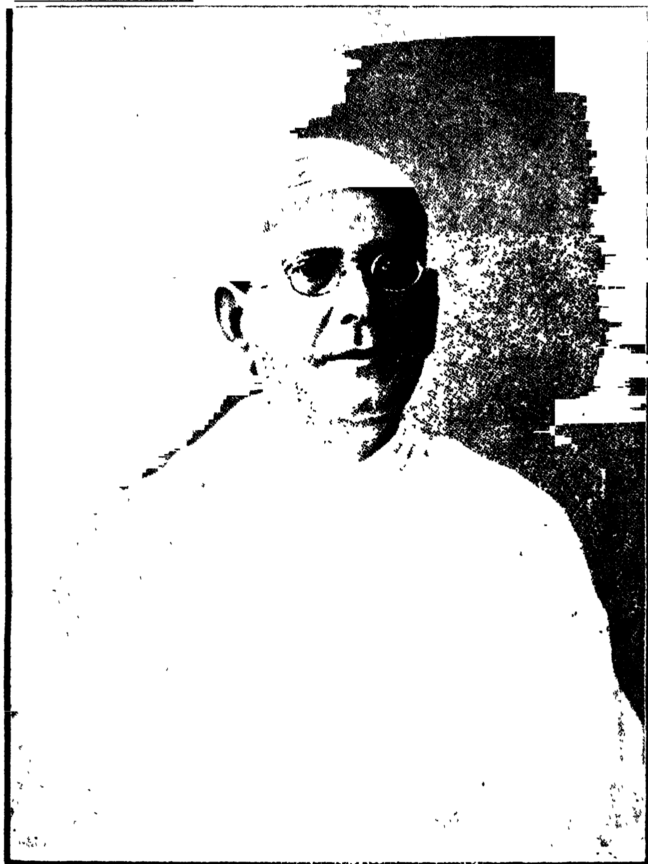
Mahatma Gandhi and the Non-Co-operation Movement.

The new reforms conceded some measure of self-government. Indians have been admitted in larger numbers to the Viceroy's Executive Council ; and a non-official majority has been granted to the Council of State, while in the Legislative Assembly the elected

The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State.

Diarchy. Ministers in Charge of Transferred Subjects.

members form the majority. In the provinces, half the members of the Governor's Executive Council are to be Indians, while the transferred departments of Education, Sanitation, Local Self-Government, Public Works,



Deshbandhu C. R. Das

etc. have been placed in charge of ministers to be appointed by the Governor from among the elected

members of the provincial legislature. The provincial legislative councils have now an elected majority. The new reforms naturally led to the readjustment of the finances and provincial finances were completely separated from those of the central government.

The Shortcomings of the New Reforms.

The reforms, however, did not please the more advanced school of Indian politicians. They contended that the Central Government continued as irresponsible as ever, and in the provinces no real responsibility was conceded. The ministers could keep their office with the help of the nominated bloc even if a majority of the elected members disapproved of their policy ; and, as the ministers had only small budgets for their departments, their chances of improving the administration were extremely remote. The Viceroy and the governors were, moreover, armed with extraordinary powers. The followers of the Mahatma, therefore, kept aloof from the newly created legislatures, but some of the older leaders, notably Surendra Nath Banerjea in Bengal, accepted office. Lord Sinha was, as an earnest of British sincerity, appointed Governor of Bihar and Orissa. A new party was later formed under the Congress by the late Mr. C. R. Das. His followers are known as the Swarajists. They captured some of the legislatures and municipal bodies, but they did not accept office.

Mr. C. R. Das and the Swarajists.

Lord Reading (1921-26) :—Lord Reading, the next Viceroy, had been Chief Justice of England. He had to deal with the Non-Co-operation Movement, which had assumed serious proportions. As a provincial governor once remarked, Mahatma Gandhi was within an ace of success. Even the visit of the Prince of Wales had not the desired effect ; and Gandhi was prosecuted and imprisoned. When Lord Reading left India, the country was apparently in peace ; but it proved to be a mere lull before the storm.

The Prince of Wales in India.

Reforms of Lord Reading.

The Viceroy incurred some unpopularity by enhancing the salt tax. But some of his measures were undoubtedly progressive. He repealed the Rowlatt Act, amended the Criminal Law to equalize to a certain extent the racial distinctions in the administration of criminal justice. He also abolished the excise duty on Indian cotton fabrics, and took steps to establish a Royal Indian Navy.

Simon Commission.

Lord Irwin (1926-31):—It was during the viceroyalty of Lord Irwin that the storm burst with fresh fury, when the news of the appointment of an all-British Commission to inquire into and report on the working of the reforms reached India. What happened next is too recent to need repetition here.

The Round Table-Conference.

But the meeting of the Round Table Conference of British and Indian statesmen at London to discuss the future reforms considerably improved the situation, and though the Congress had hitherto refused to take part in the conference, Lord Irwin succeeded in coming to an agreement with Mahatma Gandhi, the acknowledged leader of the Indian Nationalists, before he made over office to Lord Willingdon, the present Viceroy.

Lord Irwin

Gandhi-Irwin Agreement.

Lord Willingdon.

Lord Willingdon (1931—):—Lord Willingdon is not new to this country. He formerly held the Governorships of Bombay and Madras. With a view to end the political strife between the rulers and the ruled he arrived at a fresh settlement with Mahatma Gandhi in August, 1931. But the pact eventually broke down.

Government pursued a "dual policy"—on the one hand a resolute stand against terrorism and civil disobedience, on the other hand steady progress with the constitutional programme. On February 6, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, reiterated an assurance given by Lord Irwin on October 31, 1929, that the natural issue of Indian constitutional progress is the attainment of Dominion Status. A new Government of India Act was passed in August, 1935. It provides for a complete reconstruction of the existing constitution. The system in vogue is to be replaced by an All-India Federation embracing the States as well as the provinces of British India. Indian princes will be allowed to accede to the Federation by executing "Instruments of Accession". For the purpose of meeting the new conditions it will be necessary to set up a Federal Executive, a Federal Legislature and a Federal Court. The Federal Executive is to consist of the Governor-General aided and advised, except in regard to matters that are left to his discretion, by a Council of Ministers who will ordinarily be responsible to the Legislature. The Federal Legislature will consist of the Sovereign represented by the Governor-General and two chambers to be styled the Council of State and the House of Assembly. Members of these bodies will include representatives of the Federating States as well as those of British India. The provinces are to be autonomous. The dyarchical system is to be abolished and the whole executive power will be vested in the Governor of the province assisted by a Council of Ministers. Certain matters will be left to the Governor's discretion. Two new provinces, Sind and Orissa, will be created and Burma will be separated from India. The Provincial Legislature will ordinarily consist of the King represented by the Governor and a Legislative

Dual Policy.

Dominion Status.

Act of 1935.

Federation.

Provincial autonomy.

Assembly. In Bengal, Assam, Bihar, the United Provinces, Bombay and Madras the legislature will be bi-cameral, that is to say, it will consist of a Legislative Council as well as a Legislative Assembly. The method of direct election is to be followed in regard to all the Assemblies with the exception of the Federal House of Assembly. The allocation of seats is based upon the Communal Award issued by His Majesty's Government as modified by the Poona pact of September 25, 1932, concluded between certain representatives of the 'Caste Hindus' and the so-called Depressed Classes. The new reforms will enlarge the electorate and secure wider representation for women and backward communities. They will introduce an element of responsibility at the centre and bring into existence a polity in which the States as well as the Provinces will have a place. There will be, however, a tightening of safeguards in certain respects. Indian opinion has been concerned with the limitations of the new scheme and English opinion with its range. Moderate Indian politicians hold the view that neither safeguards nor reservations can be powerful enough to bar effectively the way of India to self-government. Forces will grow and public opinion will gain strength which will make it impossible to retard for long India's progress to that position.

Communal Award and Poona Pact.

Safeguards.

Military training.

An important event of Lord Willingdon's viceroyalty is the opening of the Indian Military Academy in Dehra Dun for the training of candidates for all branches of the Indian army. Agriculture is being fostered by extensive irrigation works and communications improved by the rapid progress of civil aviation. People in certain areas, notably North Bihar and Baluchistan, have undergone terrible suffering as a result of earthquakes. The King-Emperor completed the twenty-fifth year of his reign in 1935 and his silver

jubilee was celebrated with enthusiasm throughout the empire. Early in the next year the emperor passed away after an eventful reign of about twenty-six years. His immediate successor was his eldest son, Edward VIII. As the heir-apparent to the throne the new sovereign had taken pains to acquaint himself **Silver jubilee.**



Mahatma Gandhi

personally with this country fifteen years ago. But his reign came to an abrupt end in December, 1936. He was succeeded by his brother, our present Emperor, His Majesty King George VI.

Lord Linlithgow (1936—) :—Meanwhile Lord Willingdon was succeeded as Viceroy by His Excellency Lord Linlithgow. The new Viceroy has shown deep interest in the improvement of agriculture and the development of the live-stock industry. His contribution to the constitutional progress of this country is well-known.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA AND ITS MATERIAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Evolution of the Present Constitution:—England is a self-governing country. Representative and responsible government are the normal features of British colonial administration as well. When the Crown and Parliament assumed the responsibility for governing India after the suppression of the Mutiny it could safely be forecasted that Indian administration would also be influenced sooner or later by British political ideals. With the progress of western education in India educated people of this country imbibed the western ideal of representative government. But their demand for a share in their country's administration did not receive any serious response till the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 and 1892 may be dismissed as minor measures of little importance although they provided for an increasing non-official element in the Viceroy's as well as provincial Legislative Councils. Lord Morley was a radical but even he could not see his way to make large concessions to Indian popular opinion. In the new councils the number of non-official members was appreciably augmented but the officials with their nominated allies could still outvote the elected members. But the new act granted the right of moving resolutions and putting interpellations on questions of public interest and this was a move in the right direction. What was still more important, some prominent public men were entrusted with certain portfolios both at the centre and in the provinces. This afforded them an excellent opportunity of gaining

Representative Government.

Morley-Minto Reforms.

inner knowledge and influencing the decision of their colleagues.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Another stage was reached when the late Mr. E. S. Montagu declared from his place in the House of Commons that the aim of British policy in India was the 'progressive realization of responsible-government.' The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 introduced diarchy in the provinces, and gave the elected representatives of the people an overwhelming majority both in the provincial legislature and in the houses of the central legislature. Out of 145 members in the Central Legislative Assembly no less than 105 were elected by various constituencies and in the legislature of Bengal as many as 114 were elected non-official members, the total membership being 140. The various departments of the provincial government were divided into two groups, nation-building departments like those of Education, Sanitation and Public Health were transferred to ministers selected by the Governor from among the elected members who were directly responsible to the legislature, while other departments like, Police and Finance were retained as before by the members of the Executive Council who were not in any way responsible to the representatives of the people. Some of these portfolios however went to prominent non-officials. Thus an element of responsibility was introduced in the provincial governments while the Central Government fully retained its former character. But there, too, in both houses of the Legislature (Legislative Assembly and the Council of State) the elected members could give vent to popular feeling and press popular claims by interpellations and resolutions. The Viceroy's Executive Council was also, to a certain extent, Indianised. India had rendered very valuable services to the empire during the great world war and the Reform of 1919 was the reward.

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms contemplated a thorough examination of the working of the new reforms after a specified period. In 1927 a royal Commission was appointed for this purpose. The Commission is popularly known as the Simon Commission after its chairman. Unfortunately no Indian found a place on this Commission and the whole of politically conscious India protested against what was regarded as a national insult and refused to participate in the enquiry. The Commission however finished its labour and submitted its report but the main features of the next instalment of reforms were outlined at three successive Round Table Conferences attended by accredited representatives of the British political parties and prominent public men of India. The Act of 1935 has done away with the distinction of transferred and reserved departments in the Governors' provinces and introduced provincial autonomy. In eleven provinces governments are now run by ministers responsible to the legislature. In Bengal, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, Bombay and Madras the legislature consists of two houses, the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. All nominated and official elements have been eliminated from the Assembly while the nominated members form a microscopic minority in the Council. The franchise has been largely extended and the Governor has been armed with special powers. The new Act contemplates a federation of the provinces of British India and the Indian States. This has not yet been accomplished. When the federated state comes into existence there will be diarchy at the centre. The scope of the Provincial and Central Governments has been strictly defined in the Act and a Federal Court has already been established. The inauguration of the new Act was preceded by the creation

Simon Commission.

Round Table Conferences.

Act of 1935.

Provincial autonomy.

Federation.

New Provinces.

of two new provinces, Sind and Orissa, and has been followed by the separation of Burma from the Indian empire.

Economic and Material development :—The British Government have always been solicitious about the material welfare of India and their efforts have been rewarded to a certain extent. During the fifty years that ended in 1931 the population of India has increased by 32 p.c. This is due partly if not wholly to the reclamation of waste lands and the introduction of improved methods of agriculture. India is mainly an agricultural country and the Government have opened a number of Agricultural Schools and Colleges for popularising the latest discoveries and inventions made in other lands. Model farms have been opened for purposes of demonstration and for the introduction of improved seeds and scientific methods of cattle-breeding and poultry-keeping. Irrigation canals and reservoirs have contributed to the fertility of agricultural lands and spared the peasant the necessity of depending upon the uncertain supply of rain water. But the most important step taken by the Government of India so far is the foundation of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research at Delhi in 1929. The growing prosperity of the canal districts of the Punjab furnishes a living testimony to the wisdom of the irrigation policy of the Government and the Lloyd barrage of Sind is expected to add considerably to the wealth of that province.

Improved Methods of Agriculture.

Irrigation.

Famine relief.

The famine policy of the Government of India has been embodied in the famine code. Relief is granted to the distressed people in the famine area in the form of employment and loan from the public funds for purchasing seeds. Food-stuff and raiments

are distributed free when the occasion demands and private enterprise receives full encouragement.

Rural re-organisation. Of late the Government have recognised the need of rural reconstruction and about a crore of rupees has been granted for the improvement of water supply, drainage, sanitation, education, and cottage industries in rural areas. Co-operative societies have been introduced to engender among the rural people the much needed spirit of self-reliance and to teach them the value of organisation.

Public health. Every province has now its department of public health. Medical Schools and Colleges have been started to train physicians and surgeons in the art and science of healing and special clinics have been opened for the benefit of the weaker sex. The Government realise that prevention is better than cure, and research laboratories have been established to devise the best methods of preventing epidemic diseases and for combating all sorts of maladies.

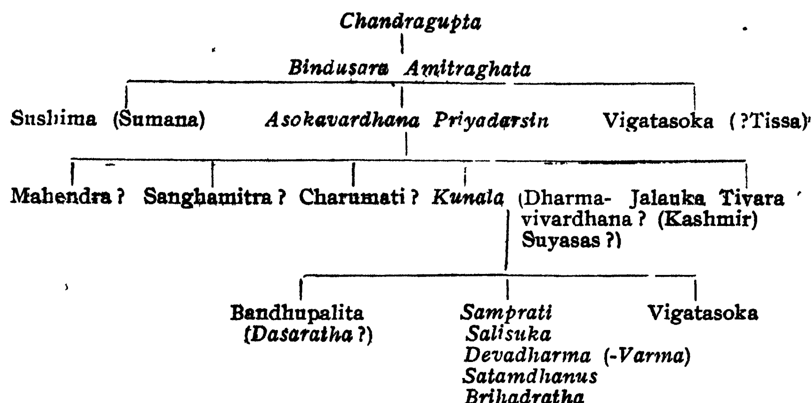
Industries. In the pre-British days large scale industries and huge factories were unknown in India. With the progress of science big industries replaced the old cottage industries, and Bombay and Ahmedabad are to-day competing successfully with the cotton industry of Manchester and other centres in Lancashire. Bengal is a great centre of the jute industry and the steel industry has afforded employment to tens of thousands of skilled and unskilled labourers at Tatanagar. The welfare of the growing number of unskilled labourers demanded fresh legislation and the trade union movement has come to stay.

Transport. The British period is also associated with the extension of improved methods of transport in India. Railways were first opened during the Governor-Generalship of Dalhousie. Steam boats are now plying

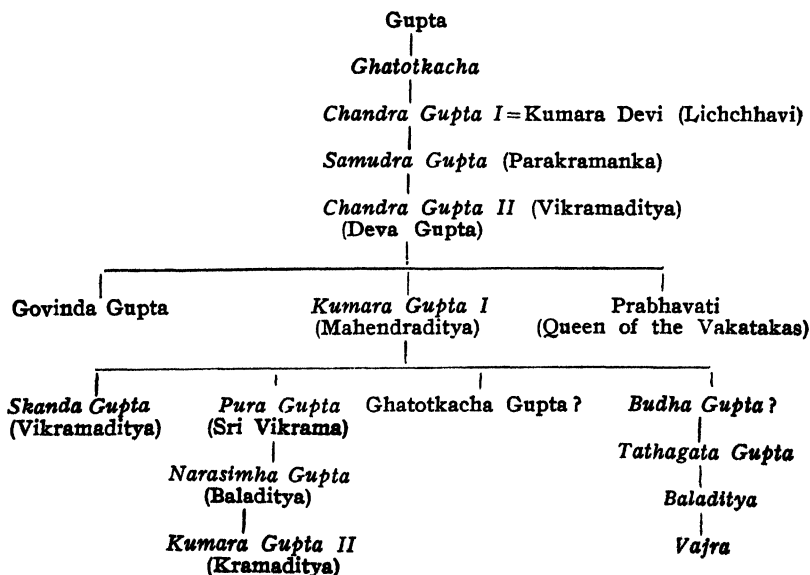
She has brought here peace and commerce. But peace has not been an unmixed blessing. With the advent of the Pax Britannica vanished the military genius of India. The country has not produced a Shivaji, a Haidar Ali, or a Ranjit Singh since the British ascendancy was firmly established here ; and the time has come when we must seriously ask ourselves whether the emasculation of our people is not too dear a price for unbroken peace and undisturbed order. With world commerce India has been exposed to world competition, and our ancient industries have suffered. But western science has placed at our disposal all her resources for exploring the natural wealth of our fertile country. Railways and telegraphs, steamers and aircraft have brought the provinces nearer each other ; and India forms to-day one country and one nation, inspired with a common ideal, animated by a common spirit, striving to attain a common destiny. That destiny is self-government or *Swaraj*. About the goal there is no difference of opinion between British and Indian statesmen. Will the question of pace prove an insuperable obstacle to agreement and understanding? Let us hope not. India has a splendid past, her future is bound to be equally brilliant. Let us, who represent the present, work harmoniously but unsparingly for the glory and the greatness that every true child wishes for the motherland.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

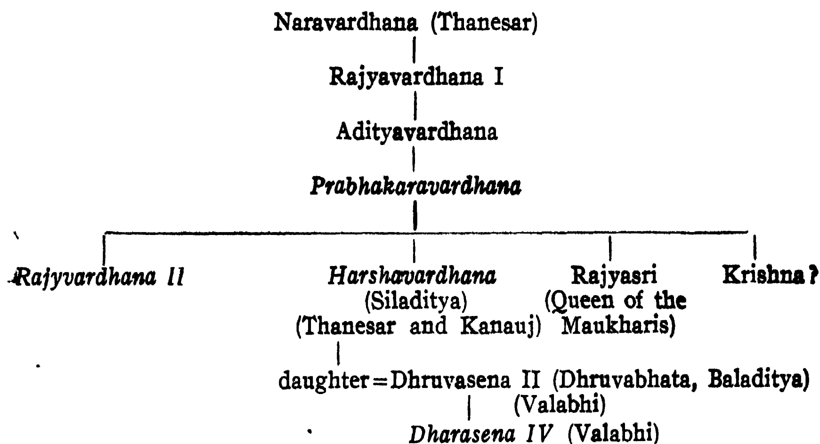
THE MAURYAS



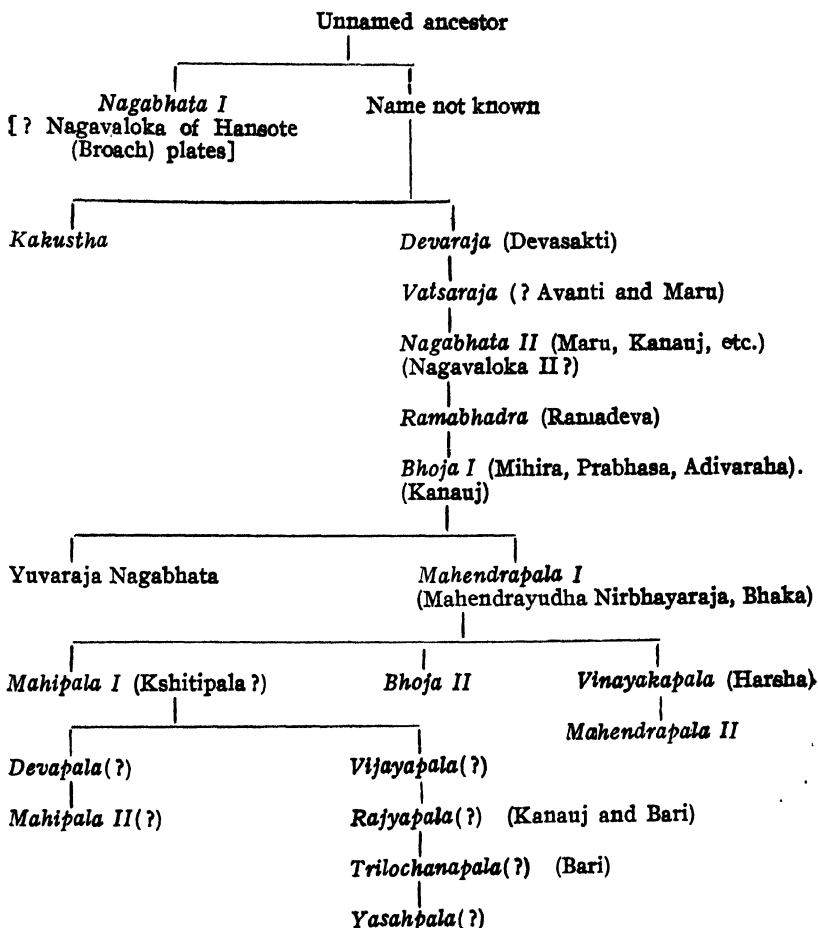
THE EARLY GUPTAS



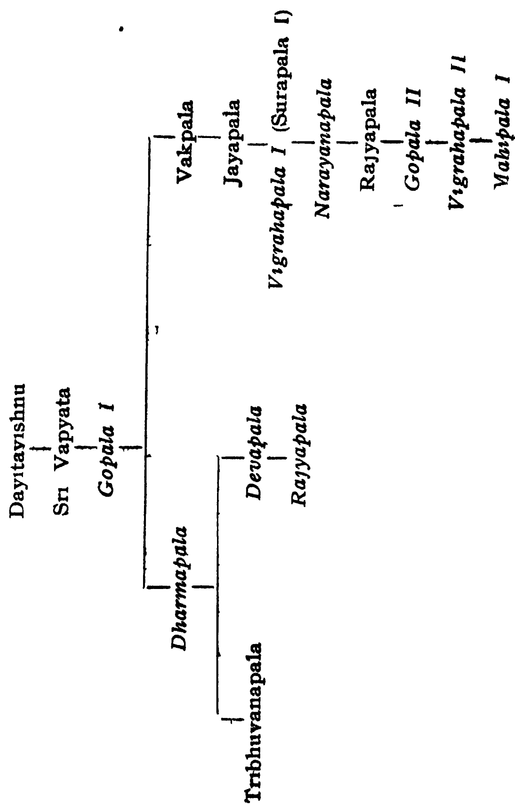
HOUSE OF PUSHYABHUTI

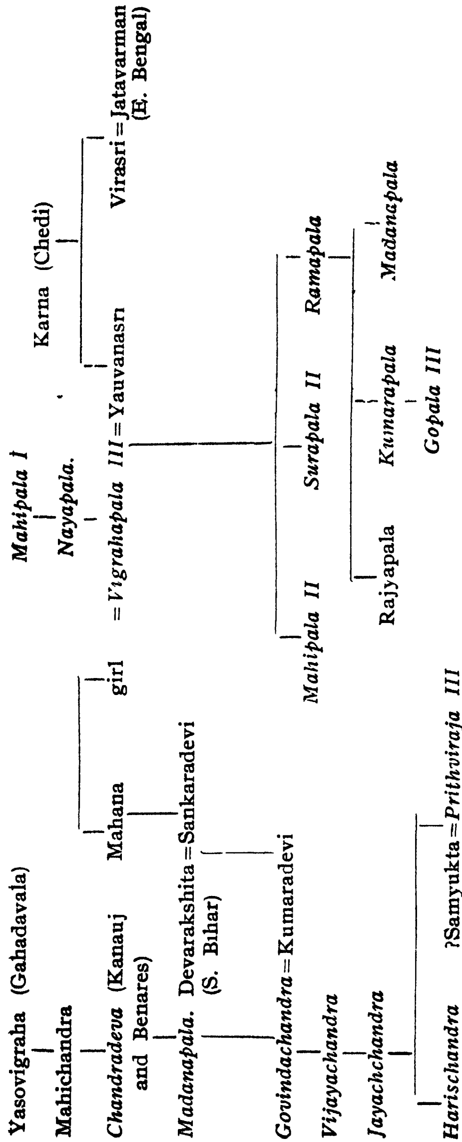


THE IMPERIAL PRATIHARAS

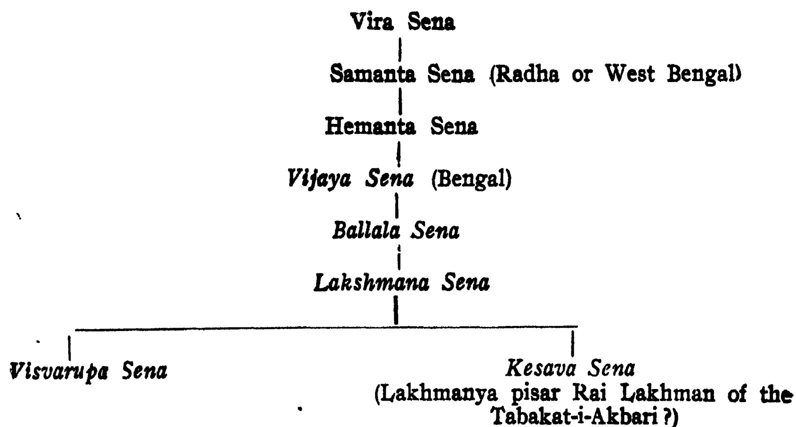


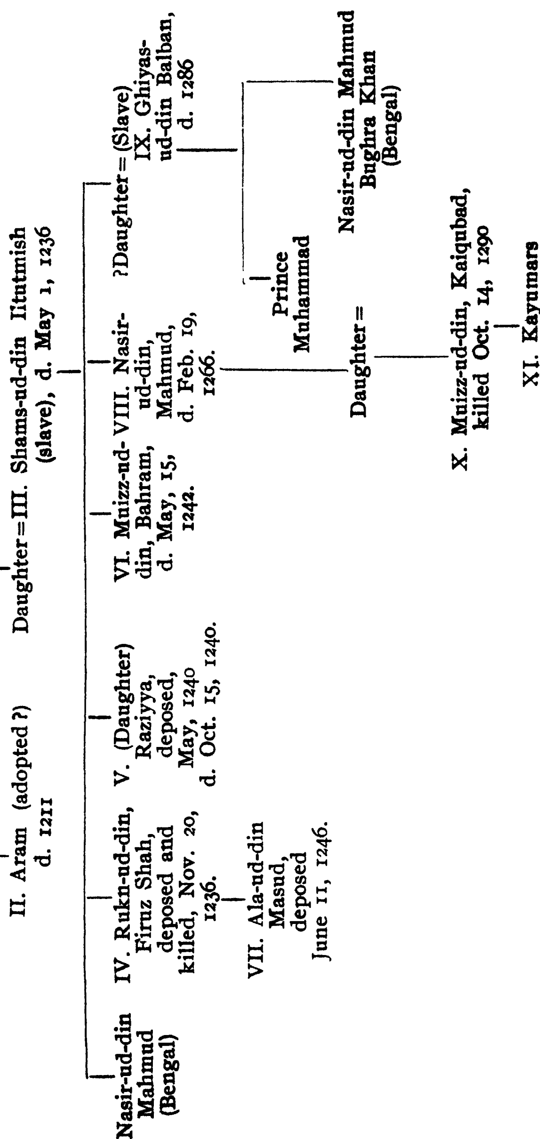
THE PALAS OF BENGAL AND THE GAHADAVALAS



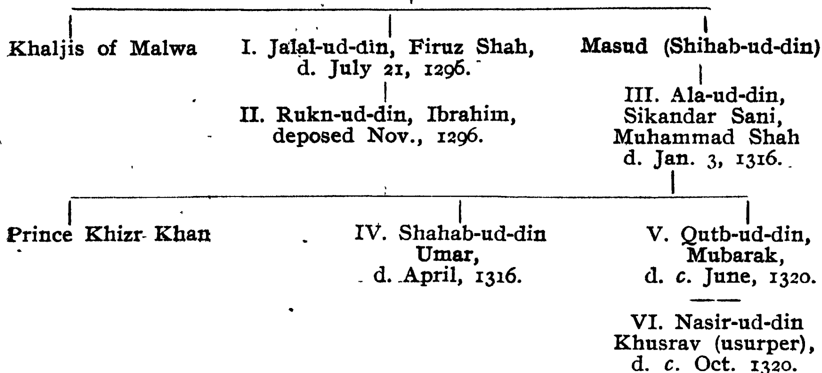

Yasovigraha (Gahadavala)
Mahichandra
Chandradeva (Kanauj and Benares)
Madanapala.
Devarakshita (S. Bihar)
Mahana
girl
=Sankaradevi
Govindachandra = Kumaradevi
Vijayachandra
Jayachchandra
Harischandra
?Samyukta = Prithviraja III
Mahipala I
Nayapala.
= Vigrahapala III = Yauvanasri
Karna (Chedi)
Virasri = Jatavarman (E. Bengal)
Mahipala II
Surapala II
Ramapala
Rajyapala
Kumarapala
Madanapala
Gopala III

THE SENAS OF BENGAL

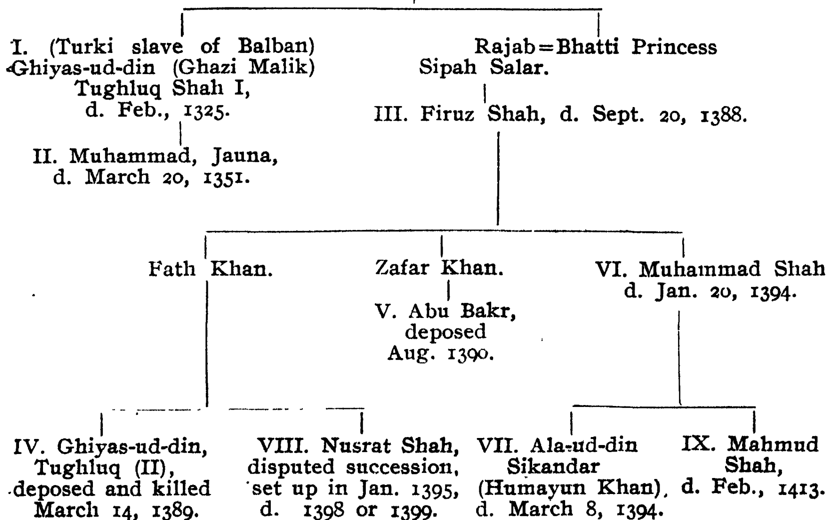



MUIZZI AND SHAMSI SLAVE KINGS OF DELHI, 1206-90.
I. Qutb-ud-din, Aibak, d. 1210.
(Slave of Muizz-ud-din Muhammad Ghuri).
II. Aram (adopted?) d. 1211
Daughter=III. Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (slave), d. May 1, 1236
Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (Bengal)
IV. Rukn-ud-din, Firuz Shah, deposed and killed, Nov. 20, 1236.
VII. Ala-ud-din Masud, deposed June 11, 1246.
V. (Daughter) Raziyya, deposed, May, 1240 d. Oct. 15, 1240.
VI. Muizz-ud-din, Bahram, d. May, 15, 1242.
VIII. Nasir-ud-din, Mahmud, d. Feb. 19, 1266.
?Daughter=(Slave) IX. Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, d. 1286
Prince Muhammad
Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Bughra Khan (Bengal)
Daughter=
X. Muizz-ud-din, Kaiqubad, killed Oct. 14, 1290
XI. Kayumars

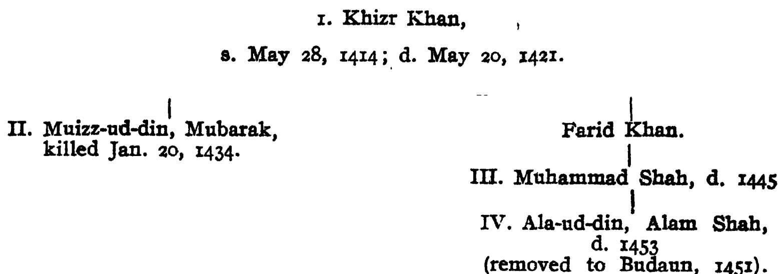
KHALJI KINGS OF DELHI, 1290-1320.



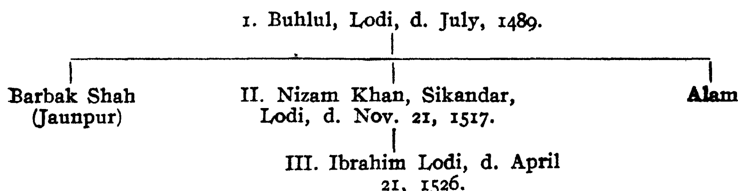
TUGHLUQ SHAHI (QARAUNIYYAH TURK) KINGS OF DELHI, 1320—1413.



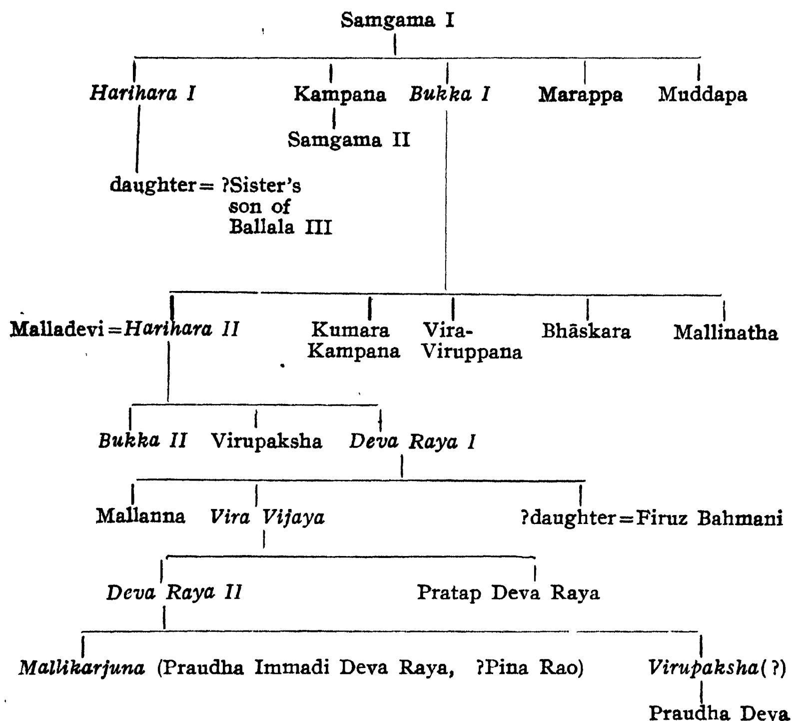
THE SAIYYID RULERS OF DELHI, 1414-51



THE LODI KINGS OF DELHI, 1451—1526.



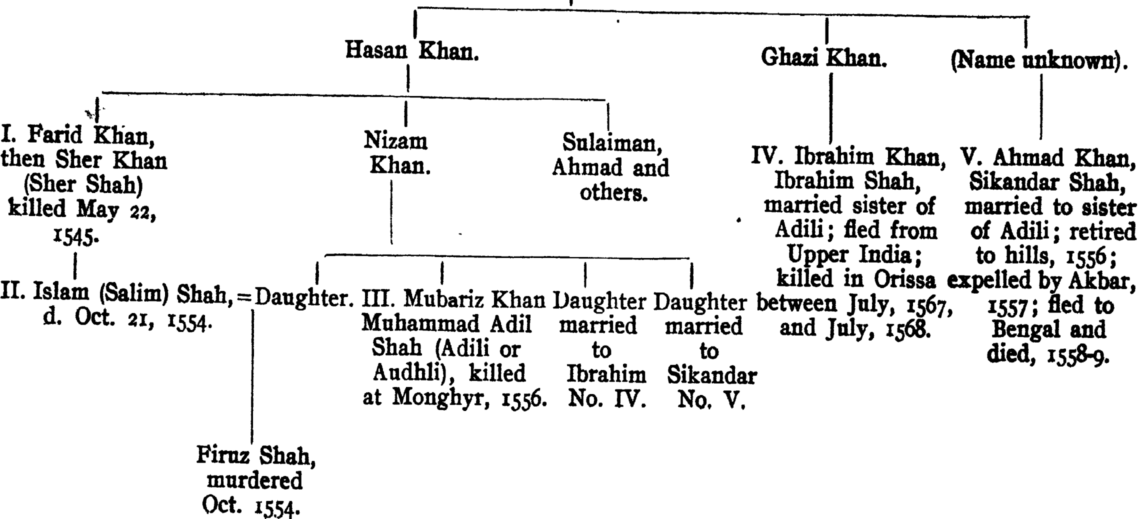
YADAVAS OF VIJAYANAGAR





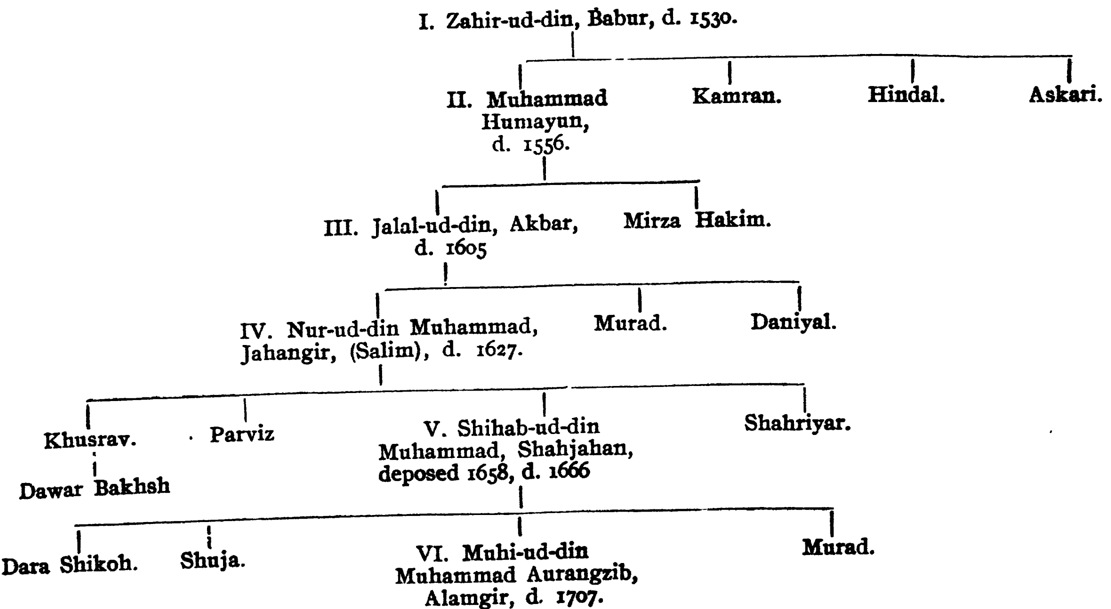
TULUVA AND ARAVIDU KINGS OF VIJAYANAGAR etc.

- Timma
  - Isvara
    - Narasa
      - Vira Nrisimha
      - *Krishna Raya*
        - ?daughter = Rama (son of Ranga I)
          - Ranga IV
            - *Pedda Venkata*
            - Chinna Venkata
              - *Ranga VI* (adopted by Gopal, son of Ranga V and a grandson of Venkatadri, brother of Tirumala)
      - Ranga I (Aravidu family)
        - Rama (=?daughter of Krishna Raya)
        - *Tirumala* (Penukonda)
          - Raghu
          - *Ranga II*
          - Rama
            - Tirumala
            - *Ranga III*
              - *Rama*
          - *Venkata II* (Penukonda, Vellore and Chandragiri)
        - Venkatadri
          - Ranga V
            - Gopal
      - *Achyuta*, brother-in-law of Timma
        - *Venkata I*
      - Ranga
        - *Sadasiva*


SUR KINGS, 1540—55.
Ibrahim Khan.
Hasan Khan.
Ghazi Khan.
(Name unknown).
I. Farid Khan, then Sher Khan (Sher Shah) killed May 22, 1545.
Nizam Khan.
Sulaiman, Ahmad and others.
IV. Ibrahim Khan, Ibrahim Shah, married sister of Adili; fled from Upper India; killed in Orissa between July, 1567, and July, 1568.
V. Ahmad Khan, Sikandar Shah, married to sister of Adili; retired to hills, 1556; expelled by Akbar, 1557; fled to Bengal and died, 1558-9.
II. Islam (Salim) Shah, = Daughter.
d. Oct. 21, 1554.
III. Mubariz Khan Muhammad Adil Shah (Adili or Audhli), killed at Monghyr, 1556.
Daughter married to Ibrahim No. IV.
Daughter married to Sikandar No. V.
Firuz Shah, murdered Oct. 1554.

TIMURID DYNASTY—THE FIRST SIX SOVEREIGNS (1526-1707).

So-called "Barlas Turk", "Chaghatae Gurgani", or "Mughul" Emperors.



RANAS OF MEWAR (FROM ARI SINHA)

Ari Sinha

Hamir or Hammira I (Chitor)

Kshetra (Kheta) Sinha

Laksha (Lakha)

(Chunda)

Mokala

Rana Sri Kumbhakarna Sarvabhauma

Udayakaran

Rajmalla (Rayamalla)

(Prithviraja)

Banbir

Samgrama (Sanga) I

Ratna Sinha

Vikramajit

Udaya Sinha (Udayapur)

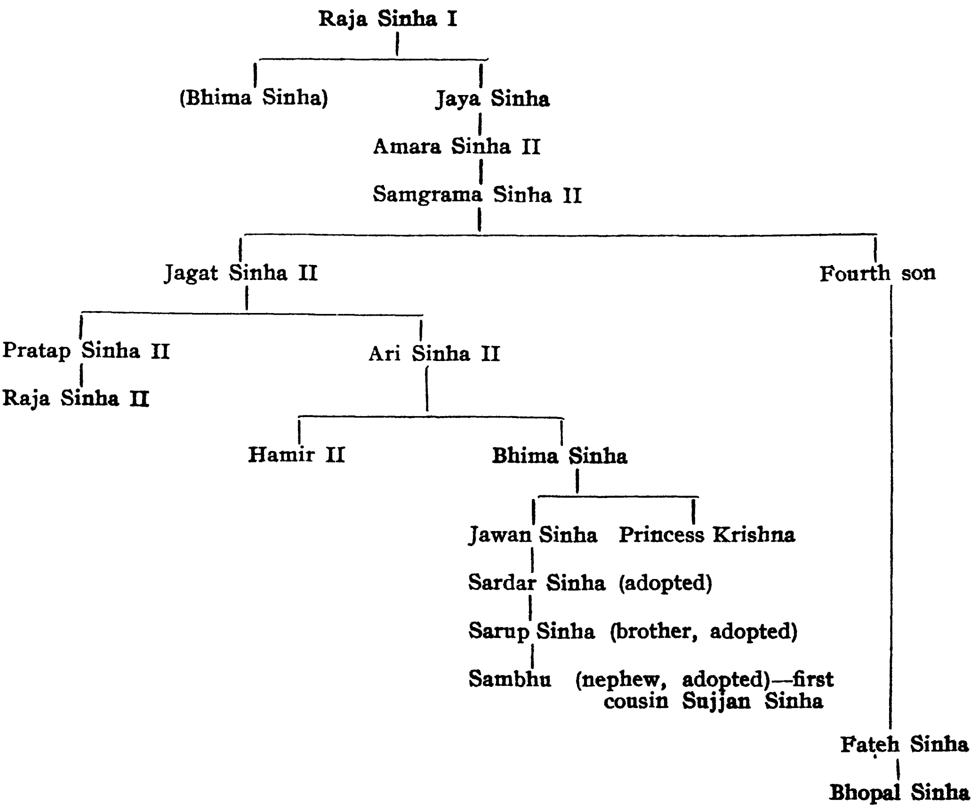
Pratap Sinha I

Amara Sinha I

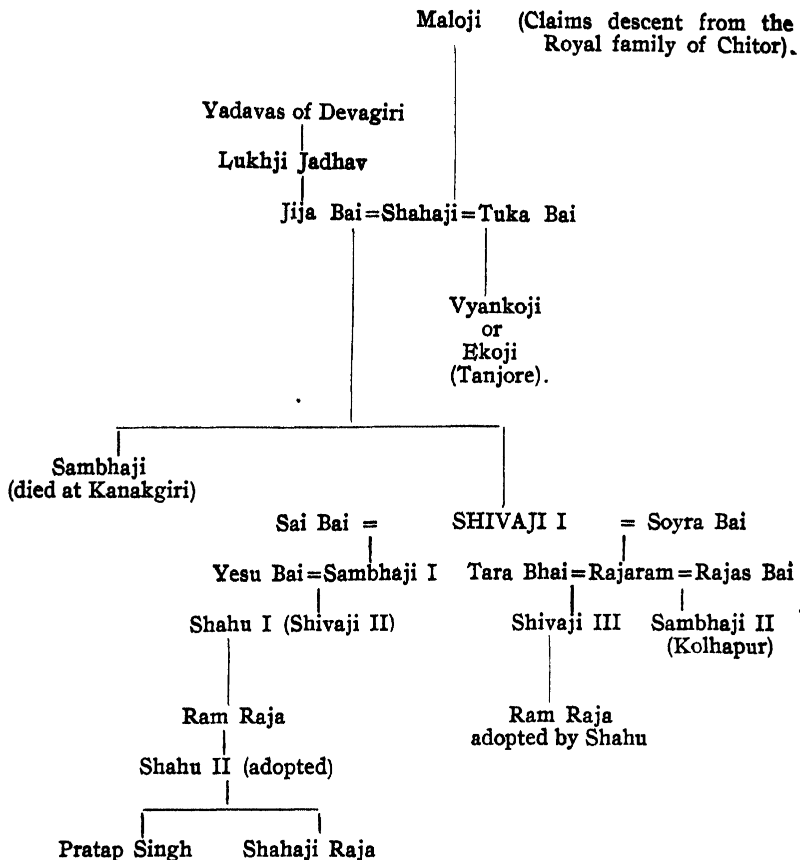
Karan

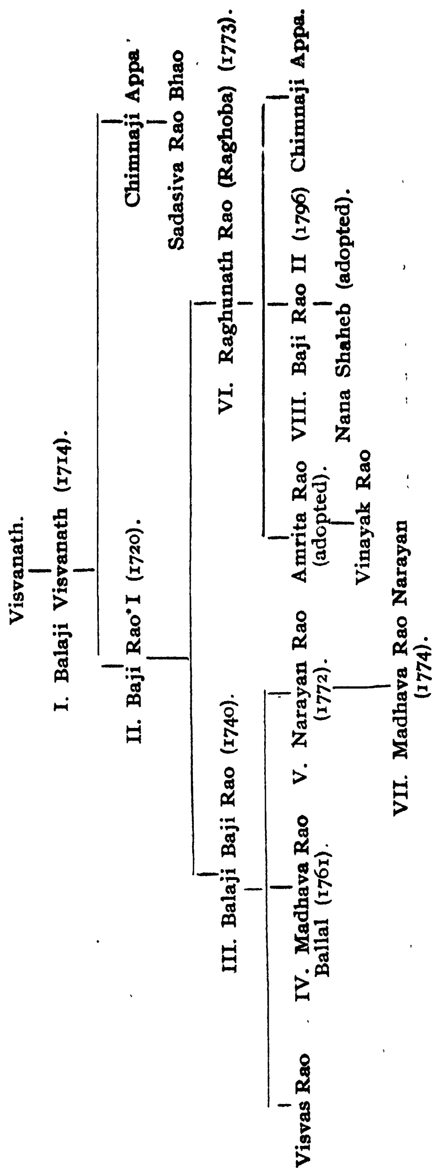
Jagat Sinha I

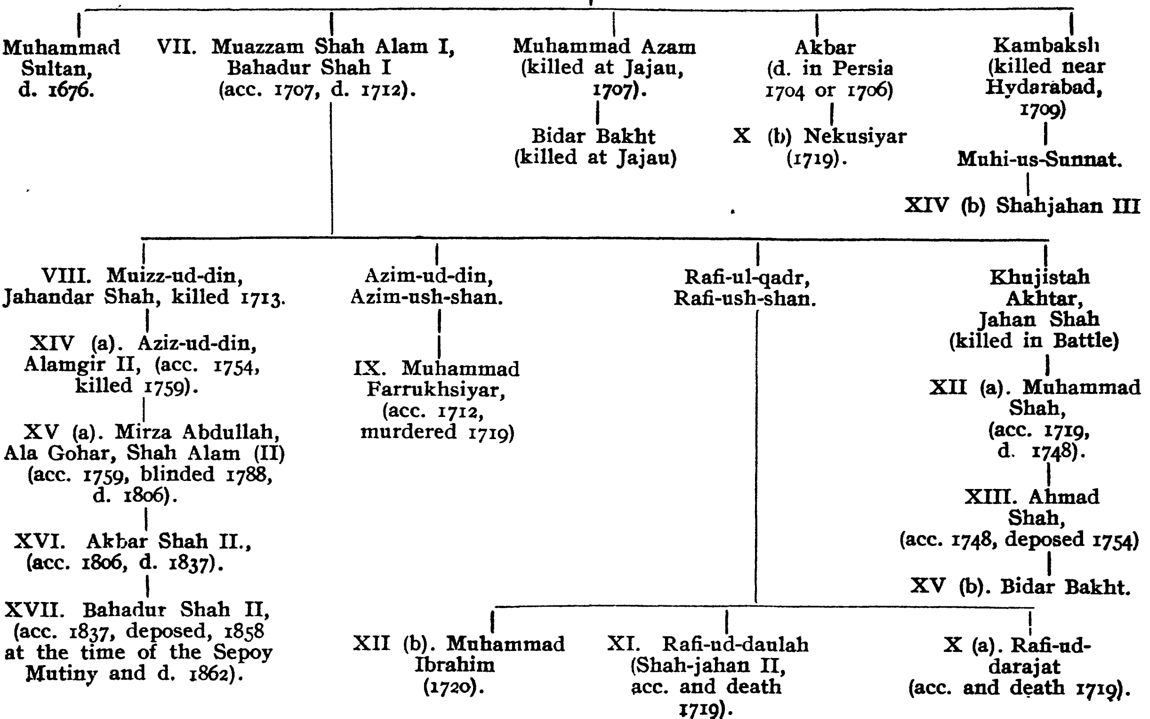
Raja Sinha I


Raja Sinha I
(Bhima Sinha)
Jaya Sinha
Amara Sinha II
Samgrama Sinha II
Jagat Sinha II
Fourth son
Pratap Sinha II
Raja Sinha II
Ari Sinha II
Hamir II
Bhima Sinha
Jawan Sinha
Princess Krishna
Sardar Sinha (adopted)
Sarup Sinha (brother, adopted)
Sambhu (nephew, adopted)—first cousin Sujjan Sinha
Fateh Sinha
Bhopal Sinha

BHONSLAS (CHHATRAPATI)




GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PESHWAŠ
Visvanath.
I. Balaji Visvanath (1714).
II. Baji Rao I (1720).
Chimnaji Appa
Sadasiva Rao Bhao
III. Balaji Baji Rao (1740).
VI. Raghunath Rao (Raghoba) (1773).
Visvas Rao
IV. Madhava Rao Ballal (1761).
V. Narayan Rao (1772).
Amrita Rao (adopted).
VIII. Baji Rao II (1796)
Chimnaji Appa.
Nana Shaheb (adopted).
Vinayak Rao
VII. Madhava Rao Narayan (1774).


THE LATER TIMURIDS
VI. Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzib, Alamgir I., d. 1707.
Muhammad Sultan, d. 1676.
VII. Muazzam Shah Alam I, Bahadur Shah I (acc. 1707, d. 1712).
Muhammad Azam (killed at Jajau, 1707).
Bidar Bakht (killed at Jajau)
Akbar (d. in Persia 1704 or 1706)
X (b) Nekusiyar (1719).
Kambaksh (killed near Hydarabad, 1709)
Muhi-us-Sunnat.
XIV (b) Shahjahan III
VIII. Muizz-ud-din, Jahandar Shah, killed 1713.
XIV (a). Aziz-ud-din, Alamgir II, (acc. 1754, killed 1759).
XV (a). Mirza Abdullah, Ala Gohar, Shah Alam (II) (acc. 1759, blinded 1788, d. 1806).
XVI. Akbar Shah II., (acc. 1806, d. 1837).
XVII. Bahadur Shah II, (acc. 1837, deposed, 1858 at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny and d. 1862).
Azim-ud-din, Azim-ush-shan.
IX. Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, (acc. 1712, murdered 1719)
Rafi-ul-qadr, Rafi-ush-shan.
XII (b). Muhammad Ibrahim (1720).
XI. Rafi-ud-daulah (Shah-jahan II, acc. and death 1719).
X (a). Rafi-ud-darajat (acc. and death 1719).
Khujistah Akhtar, Jahan Shah (killed in Battle)
XII (a). Muhammad Shah, (acc. 1719, d. 1748).
XIII. Ahmad Shah, (acc. 1748, deposed 1754)
XV (b). Bidar Bakht.

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

I. Governors-General of Fort William in Bengal (Regulating Act of 1773).

(Temporary and officiating in italics).

1774 (October). Warren Hastings.

1785 (February). *Sir John Macpherson.*

1786 (September). Earl (Marquess) Cornwallis.
1793. Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth).

1798 (March). *Sir A. Clarke.*

1798 (May). Earl of Mornington (Marquess Wellesley).
1805 (July 30). Marquess Cornwallis (for second time).

1805 (October). *Sir George Barlow.*

1807 (July). Baron (Earl of) Minto I.
1813 (October 4). Earl of Moira (Marquess of Hastings).

1823 (January). *John Adam.*

1823 (August 1). Baron (Earl) Amherst.

1828 (March). *William Butterworth Bayley.*

1828 (July 4). Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck.

II. Governors-General of India (Charter Act of 1833).

1833. Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck.

1835 (March 20). *Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe.*

1836 (March). Baron (Earl of) Auckland.
1842 (February). Baron (Earl of) Ellenborough.

1844 (June). *William Wilberforce Bird.*

1844 (July). Sir Henry (Viscount) Hardinge.
1848 (January). Earl (Marquess) of Dalhousie.
1856 (February). Viscount (Earl) Canning.

III. Governors-General and Viceroys.

1858 (November 1). Viscount (Earl) Canning.
1862 (March). Earl of Elgin and Kincardine I.

1863. *Sir Robert Napier (Baron Napier of Magdala).*

1863. *Sir William T. Denison.*

1864 (January). Sir John (Lord) Lawrence.
1869 (January). Earl of Mayo.

1872. *Sir John Strachey.*

1872. *Lord Napier of Merchistoun.*

1872 (May). Baron (Earl of) Northbrook.
1876 (April). Baron (Earl of) Lytton.
1880 (June). Marquess of Ripon.
1884 (December). Earl of Dufferin (Marquess of Dufferin and Ava).
1888 (December). Marquess of Lansdowne.
1894 (January). Earl of Elgin and Kincardine II.
1899 (January 6). Baron (Earl) Curzon of Kedleston.

1904 (April). *Lord Ampthill.*

1904 (December). Baron (Marquess) Curzon of Kedleston (re-appointed).
1905 (November). Earl of Minto II.
1910 (November). Baron Hardinge of Penshurst.
1916 (April). Baron Chelmsford.
1921 (April). Earl of Reading.

1925. *Lord Lytton II.*

1926 (April). Lord Irwin.

1929. *Lord Goschen* (during the absence of Lord Irwin on leave).

1931 (April). The Right Hon'ble the Earl of Willingdon.

1934 (May-August). *Sir George Stanley* (Offg.).

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF BENGAL

Sir Frederick James Halliday	1854
Sir John Peter Grant	1859
Sir Cecil Beadon	1862
Sir William Grey	1867
Sir George Campbell	1871
Sir Richard Temple, Bart., K.C.S.I. ...	1874
The Hon. Sir Ashley Eden, C.S.I.	1877
Sir Steuart C. Bayley, K.C.S.I. (Officiating) ...	1879
Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson, C.S.I., C.I.E.,	1882
H. A. Cockerell, C.S.I. (Officiating) ...	1885
Sir Steuart C. Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. ...	1887
Sir Charles Alfred Elliott, K.C.S.I.	1890
Sir A. P. MacDonnell, K.C.S.I. (Officiating) ...	1893
Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.S.I., retired 6th April, 1898	1895
Charles Cecil Stevens, C.S.I. (Officiating) ...	1897
Sir John Woodburn, K.C.S.I., died 21st November, 1902	1898
J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I. (Officiating) ...	1902
Sir A. H. Leith Fraser, K.C.S.I.	1903
Lancelot Hare, C.S.I., C.I.E. (Officiating) ...	1906
F. A. Slacke (Officiating)	1906
Sir E. N. Baker, K.C.S.I., retired 21st September, 1911	1908
F. W. Duke, C.S.I. (Officiating)	1911

The office of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was abolished on April, 1st, 1912, when Bengal was raised to a Governorship.

GOVERNORS OF THE PRESIDENCY OF FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL

The Rt. Hon. Baron Carmichael of Skirling, G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.	1912

The Rt. Hon. Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E. ... 1917
Sir Henry Wheeler—(March) 1922
The Rt. Hon. Lord Lytton 1922
Sir John Kerr—(10th April to 7th August) ... 1925
The Rt. Hon. Lord Lytton—(from 8th August) 1925
Sir Hugh Stephenson—(11th June to 10th October) 1926
The Rt. Hon. Lord Lytton—(from the 11th October) 1926
The Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Stanley Jackson, P.C., G.C.I.E. 1927
Sir Hugh Stephenson—(for 4 months from the 5th of June to October). 1930
The Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Stanley Jackson ... 1930
Sir John Anderson 1932
Sir John Woodhead (Offg. August 1934).

GOVERNORS OF BIHAR AND ORISSA

Lord Sinha of Raipur, P.C., K.C. 1920
Sir Henry Wheeler 1921
Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I. ... 1927
Sir James Davis Sifton 1932

GOVERNORS OF ASSAM

Sir Nicholas Dodd Beatson Bell, K.C.S.I. ... 1921
Sir William Sinclair Marris, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. 1922
Sir John Henry Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. ... 1925
Sir William James Reid, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. ... 1925
Sir Egbert Laurie Lucas Hammond, K.C.S.I., C.B.E. 1927
Sir Michael Keane 1932

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